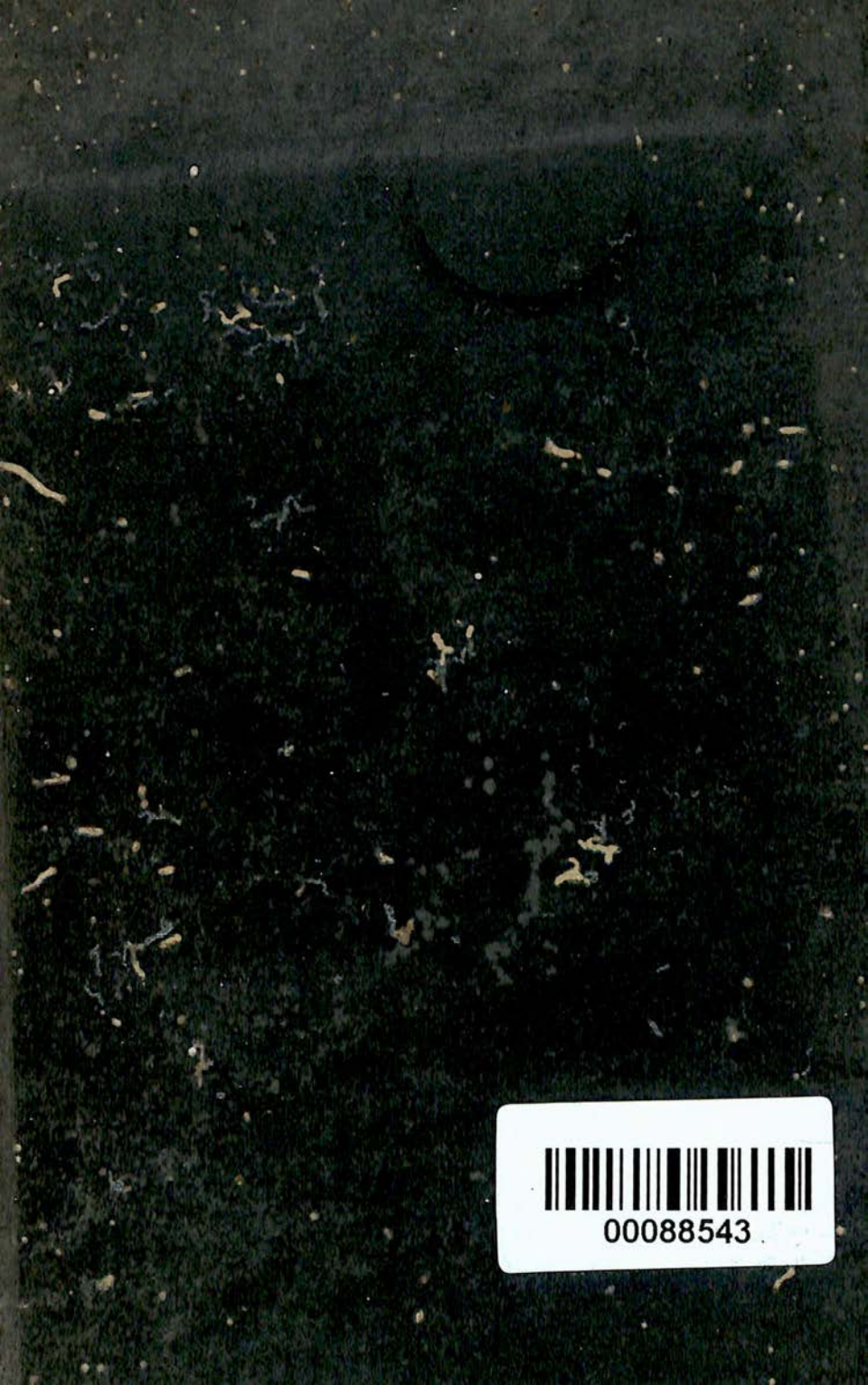
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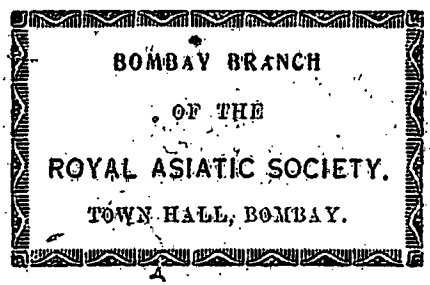

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NARRATIVE

OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S MISSION

TO

CHINA AND JAPAN

"All sad the scene, a cheerless spot!
'Ah! woe,' I cry, 'an Envoy's lot—
Exiled, forlorn! How small his fame!'—
'Peace!' saith my Muse; 'I'll aid thee; bear
Thine honoured toils. 'Away with care,
Nor murmur at thy country's claim.'"

HWASHANA'S *Complaint*, vol. i. p. 441.

M & N. HANHART, LITH.

F. C. B. BEDWELL, DEL.

EXCHANGE OF FULL POWERS BETWEEN THE EARL OF ELGIN & THE JAPANESE COMMISSIONERS.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE EARL OF ELGIN'S MISSION

TO

CHINA AND JAPAN

IN THE YEARS 1857, '58, '59

BY

LAURENCE OLIPHANT

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD ELGIN

Author of the "Russian Shores of the Black Sea," &c.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS & PHOTOGRAPHS

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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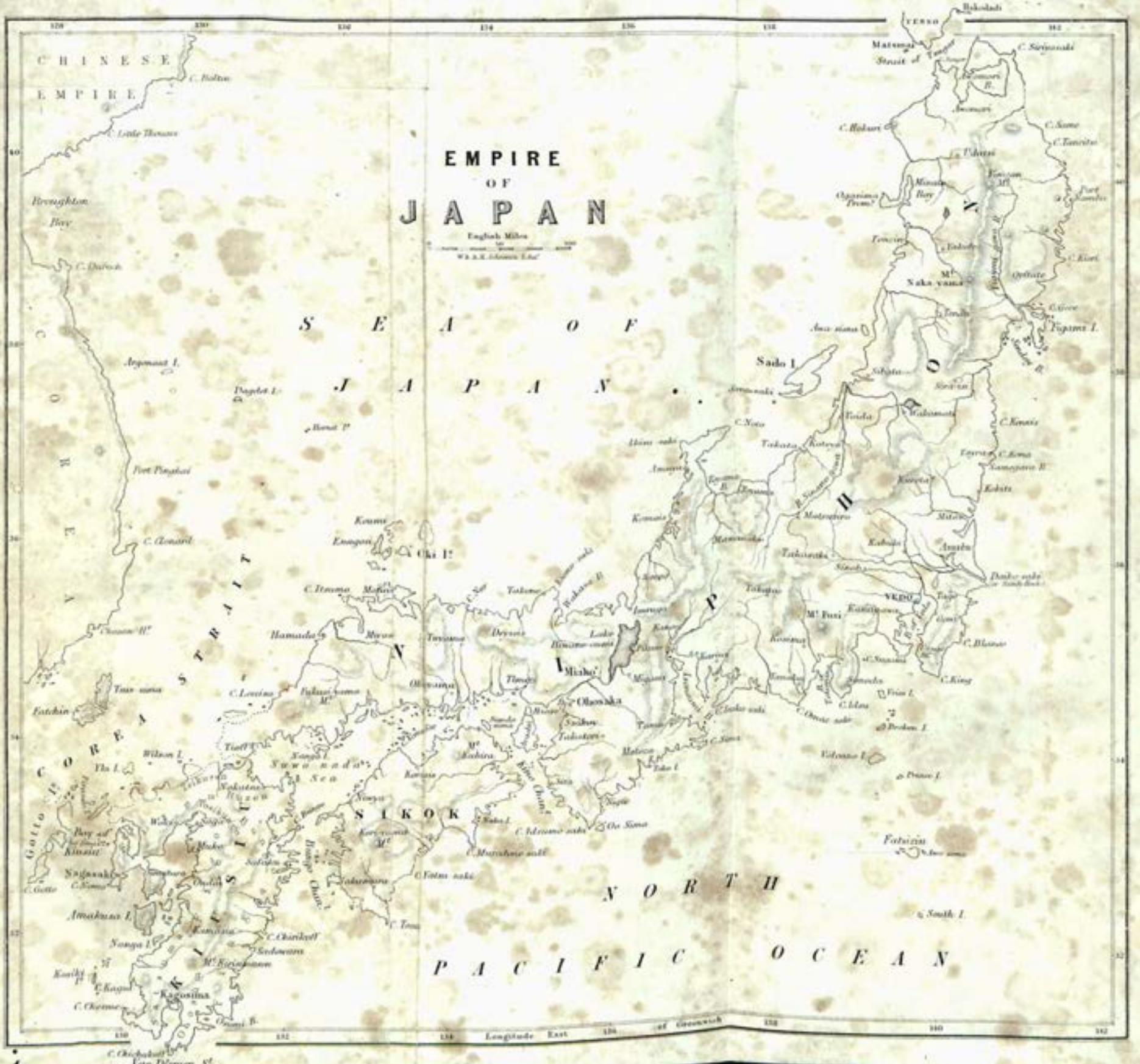
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Sado I.
Mt. Naka-yama
Mt. Fusi
Mt. Kirinmanen
Kagosima
Van Dlemen St.
Longitude East of Greenwich

NARRATIVE

OF

LORD ELGIN'S MISSION

TO

CHINA AND JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST VIEW OF JAPAN — LOVELY SCENERY — SINGULAR BOATS — PAPPENBERG — DUNGAREE FORTS — ENCHANTING SCENERY — A PHILOSOPHICAL PORT-GUARDIAN—VISIT OF JAPANESE OFFICIALS —DECIMA—REMOVAL OF RESTRICTIONS—FORMER IMPRISONMENT OF DUTCH—A SMUGGLING SKIPPER—DUTCH COVETOUSNESS—STRICT RULES—RECENT CONCESSIONS—NAGASAKI—ASPECT OF HOUSES—SHOPS AT NAGASAKI—THE STREETS—PLAN OF THE CITY —JANITORS OF DECIMA.

THE distance from Shanghai to Nagasaki is not above 450 miles; but if oceans rolled between the two empires, Japan could not be more thoroughly isolated than it is from the rest of the world. We steamed smoothly and rapidly over this narrow strip of sea, so rarely traversed by craft of any sort. There was not a speck of foam to ruffle its glassy surface, scarce

a fleece of cloud to checker the deep blue overhead: well might we imagine ourselves gliding across these solitary waters to some dreamland, securely set in a quiet corner of another world, far away from the storms and troubles of this one. On the afternoon of the 2d August we first saw symptoms of land, and passed close to some high pointed rocks of picturesque form, in places covered with verdure, but not affording standing-ground for an inhabitant. These bold land-marks are out of sight of the Japanese coast, and are called the Asses' Ears. Early on the following morning the highlands of Japan were in sight, the nearest land being the island of Iwosima. As we approached it, the first object visible was an evidence of civilisation unknown among the Chinese; on its highest summit a flagstaff at once telegraphed our appearance to the mainland. We did not then know that cannon, placed at intervals the whole way to the capital, were noisily repeating this signal, so that intelligence of our approach was even then reverberating almost from one end of the Empire to the other; and his majesty the Tycoon at Yedo, six or seven hundred miles away, was informed that we had entered the Bay of Nagasaki by the time that we had dropped our anchor in it.

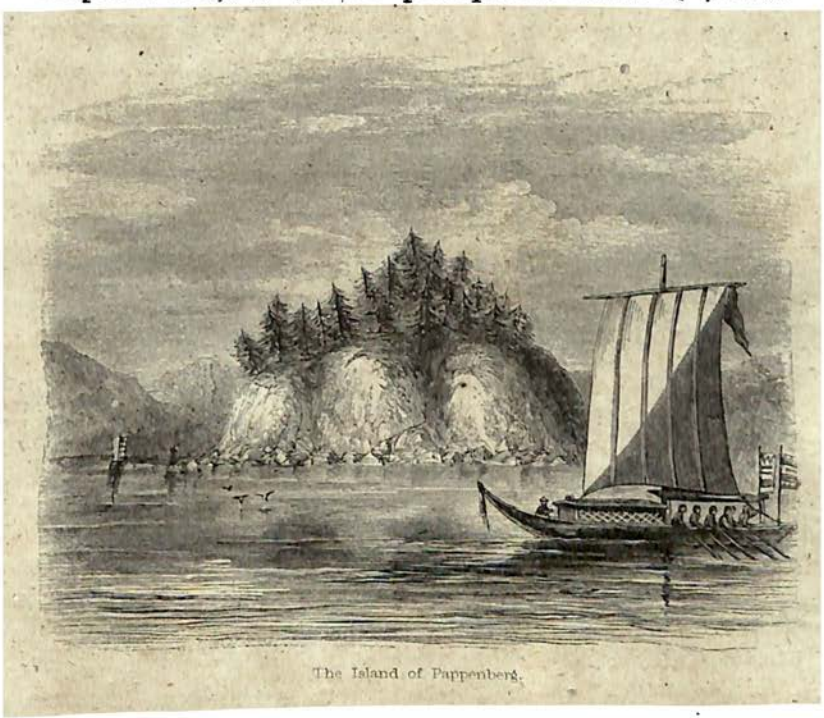
The high green islands of Iwosima conceal from view the entrance to the bay until you round their westernmost point: even then other islands and projecting promontories make it somewhat uncertain. Fortunately the ship's pilotage does not rest with us,

and we can bestow our attention unreservedly on the scenery, which is indeed of a character to rivet it, whether we will or no. The islands on our right rise abruptly out of the water. The overhanging promontory above us is crowned by a battery of guns, round which a few soldiers are grouped, gazing curiously; beyond it more batteries appear on sundry other projections of the shore, which is here and there indented with bays, from which deep-wooded valleys run up into the island. They seem thickly populated, for the cottages, with their high thatched roofs, cluster up the hill-side, and peep out from under the dark foliage. In places the islands are precipitous, and masses of towering rock deny even to the hardiest shrubs holding-ground.

The scenery on the opposite shore is of the same character, but on a grander scale. It trends away in a series of deep bays and beetling cliffs, upon the rugged base of which the waves wage an incessant war, and surge and moan fretfully in deep caves and fissures, as though lamenting their fruitless efforts to undermine them. In charming contrast with these sterner features are grassy slopes and rice-fields rising in terraces on the green hill-sides, and shady groves with blue smoke curling above them, denoting the existence of snug hamlets. Securely moored in secluded creeks, or hauled up on little patches of sandy beach, are quaint-shaped native craft; others are glancing about these calm inland waters, ferrying across from islands to the main passengers and cargo,

or lying motionless as though asleep on the water, their sails "folded like thoughts in a dream," while the occupants are fishing. These sails are composed either of strips of matting or of cloth. These are generally black and white alternately, each strip not being above two feet wide, and hoisted perpendicularly. When it is necessary to reduce sail, one or more strips are taken in. When not sailing, they are sculled by ten or a dozen stalwart figures, their entire clothing consisting but of scanty waistcloths, and their light-bronze complexions giving them an unusually naked appearance. These men all work under substantial awnings of matting, or a light wooden framework, constructed in the after-part of the boat. The bows are considered the more honourable position; and hence this is the portion of the boat set apart for passenger accommodation. The prows are sharp-pointed, and elevated high out of the water. Some of these passenger-boats passed close to us for the purpose of a closer inspection. Those within manifested no fear, but a good deal of interest and curiosity; numerous flags fluttered from small flag-staffs in the stern, each device having its appropriate signification, unknown to us. The colours were generally black and white, and the form square or angular. A black circle on a white ground, or black and white triangles, were the commonest; but often they were complicated, and presented to the uninitiated the appearance of an elaborate collection of the emblems of freemasonry.

Steaming gently on, we presently open the mouth of the long narrow harbour, with the conical wooded island of Pappenberg guarding its entrance; beyond which, formerly, foreign ships were not allowed to penetrate, and which must ever hold an unenviable notoriety in the historical annals of Japan, as the Tarpeian rock, down the precipitous sides of which



The Island of Pappenberg.

hundreds of Christians, during the fierce persecution which had for its object the utter extermination of all who professed the creed, were hurled into the deep-blue waters which eddy round it. The moral of the sad story is written on the face of the steep hills which enclose the bay: tiers of cannon rise one above another; battery succeeds battery, as

point after point is revealed to view. These guns are pointed not so much against the stranger as the Christian, who, while he is dreaded, is no less despised, and the principal result of whose intercourse with the Japanese has been to furnish them with weapons by which they can the more effectually resist his encroachments. Notwithstanding this, Japan is once again open to the Christian: it will remain to be proved how far the estimate which former experience led the authorities of that Empire to form of his practice and his profession, will be justified in the course of his renewed intercourse with its inhabitants.

The guns, which appeared of enormous calibre, were for the most part unprotected by embrasures; they stood under open sheds, generally surrounded by soldiers. In addition to those which were real, and apparently serviceable, were long lines of sham batteries, known to sailors as Dungaree forts, and which were made simply of coarse cloth or canvass, stretched and painted so as to represent batteries. It is possible that in many cases these concealed guns, and were purposely constructed in a manner calculated to mislead the beholder into supposing them a "solemn sham," and so hurrying him on to his own destruction. Whether that be so or not, these gaudily-painted fortifications contributed a novel and characteristic feature to the scenery, which continued to be of the most enchanting description.

The harbour of Nagasaki is an inlet of the sea, four miles long, and with an average of about a mile in

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NAGASAKI.

breadth. At its further extremity lies the city, with a high range of hills in rear; the topmost summit, Kawarajama, attaining an elevation of about two thousand feet. The hills on either side of this sheet of water sometimes rise out of it in an abrupt wall of rock, at others swell gently back in wooded slopes, down which brawling streams leap into the sea: rock-cut steps ascend to airy pinnacles surmounted by guns or temples; dense foliage clusters wherever it can find holding-ground, flinging deep shadows over crag and fissure, subduing and toning down all the harsher elements—just as a soft eye and gentle smile give their own expression to a countenance rugged with lines and furrows.

Behind some of the Dungaree forts we observed substantial buildings, apparently barracks, and gardens beautifully kept, with terraces and walks, and carefully-trimmed borders—the bright colours of the dresses of those who frequented them imparting a gay and almost fairy-like aspect to the scene.

We had now reached the point at which, a few years ago, even Dutch ships were compelled to anchor, and the interval which elapsed until permission was given them to proceed to their anchorage was employed in secreting the Bibles. "On anchoring at the entrance of the harbour," says Thunberg, "all the Bibles and prayer-books belonging to the sailors were collected and put into a chest, which was nailed down. This chest was afterwards left under the care of the Japanese till the time of our departure, when every

one received his book again." They were also obliged to give up all their arms and ammunition. In spite, however, of the abhorrence in which the Japanese hold Bibles and revolvers, we retained our right to use the one and wear the other; and it is but fair to them to say, that the spiritual weapon was the only one for which we found any need in their country.

Until quite recently, a cordon of boats, stretched across this part of the harbour, barred the further progress of foreign ships. We found the obstruction represented only by one official boat, upon the deck, or rather roof, of which a gentleman was seated, reading placidly, and gently fanning himself. On our approaching nearer, he looked up and waved us benignly back with his fan. If he was the port-guardian, he was by no means a formidable janitor, for on our holding on our way, regardless of his signals, he fell to reading again, apparently satisfied that he had discharged his duty, and was henceforward relieved from all further responsibility on our account. This man's conduct furnished us with a key in all our future intercourse with Japanese officials, who, in spite of the vehemence of their protestations so long as they believe it possible to carry out their instructions, possess a marvellous facility of accepting whatever situation they find is inevitably to be forced upon them. In this instance we were the less disposed to heed the signals of the dignitary in the boat, as we could now perceive two or three ships at anchor off the town. These we discovered to be a Dutch

merchant-ship and a Japanese man-of-war steamer, besides a small cutter; beyond them were a few Japanese junks.

We were now soon at anchor, and ready to land under the Dutch flag, which betokened the Factory of Decima, which, though an island, seems from the shipping as though it formed part of the city of Nagasaki. Before we had time to do so, however, we were boarded by a boat-load of Japanese officials, the novelty of whose appearance and costume detained us. They came crowding on the deck in the most easy, unembarrassed manner imaginable, smiling blandly and affably, and talking Dutch, which, however, nobody on board understood. Their gauzy overcoats, loose trousers, gaiters, and "foot-gloves," combined to form an unusual costume; while the position of the two swords with which each man was furnished, as they projected behind, gave him the appearance, at a distance, of being some new species of biped adorned with two tails. When our curiosity had been mutually satisfied, these gentry were signed to return to their boat; and as they were unable to extract any information from us, they at once complied, but only re-embarked to remain stationary, a short distance off, as a sort of guard-boat.

Some of us now went on shore to call on the Dutch officials in the Factory. As we neared the land we observed some of the old posts standing out of the water, within a short distance of the Factory, within which no Japanese boats were formerly allowed to

pass, for fear of surreptitious communication being carried on with the Dutch. We landed at a rude quay, where some Dutch sailors were lounging under an open shed; and passing through a wooden gate, found ourselves in a single street, about two hundred yards long, as clean and precise as a street in that paragon of neatness, the village of Brock. The houses were substantial little two-storied edifices, with green shutters and blinds, from behind which peeped sundry pretty-looking female Japanese faces; for the Dutch here are not allowed the companionship of their own countrywomen. Of the male inhabitants, not half-a-dozen were visible, and these seemed all sailors. Asking one of them to point out the house of the chief superintendent, Mr Donker Curtius, we were informed that he was absent on a visit to the capital, but that his secretary was in Decima.

We were most cordially and civilly received by this gentleman, and were delighted to learn from him, that, by the latest arrangements entered into with the Japanese Government, all former restrictions limiting the exploration of foreigners to the little island, or subjecting them to the most annoying formalities in case of their wishing to proceed beyond it, were removed, and that we were now at liberty to ramble unrestrained wheresoever we pleased. There can be little doubt that the Government desires, by pursuing a very liberal policy at Nagasaki, and by offering greater facilities and conveniences to foreign-

ers there than elsewhere, to attract them as much as possible to this port, to the prejudice and exclusion of others. Our host informed us, however, that the present Governor was by no means a man of advanced or liberal views, and mentioned several instances in which he had manifested retrogressive tendencies. Under the regular system, the governors of the Imperial cities are removed annually, but an exception is made in the case of Nagasaki, as a man is supposed to require time to learn the temper of foreigners, and a further period is allowed him to turn the knowledge thus gained to account. On the whole, this is a convenient arrangement for foreigners, though, in the present instance, any change would in all probability have been for the better.

It appeared that Mr Donker Curtius was now on his return journey from Yedo, where he had been residing for some time, unsuccessfully endeavouring to negotiate a new treaty. Mr Harris, the American Consul at Simoda, had, we learnt, also returned to his post, after a residence in the capital attended with no immediate political results.

The houses of the Dutch officials in Decima are unpretending little abodes, generally constructed of wood, with verandahs seaward; the lower story devoted to warehouse purposes, the upper containing three or four small simply-furnished rooms. Up to quite a recent period Decima must have presented rather the aspect of a penal settlement than the abode of a community of merchants. So strict was the sur-

veillance to which the members composing the Factory here were subjected—so severe the restrictions by which they were bound—that one is tempted to believe that the gentlemen who chose the Dutch Factory at Nagasaki as their habitation, must have been the victims of that species of misanthropy which is supposed, in our own country, to induce men to apply for situations in lighthouses. Until lately, the arrival of a Dutch ship in the harbour was the signal for a host of Japanese officials to flock to Decima. The interpreters occupied the abode assigned to them, and no one was allowed to pass from the shore to the ship unless furnished with a passport and accompanied by one of these gentry. Then a corps of "ottonas," or official spies, were quartered in the island, whose duty it was to watch the minutest proceedings of every member of the Factory. They regularly mounted guard at the only gate through which access is to be had on foot into the town, as well as at both the water-gates, and both by day and night went their rounds with religious punctuality and exactness.

The members of only one ecclesiastical sect, those of the Mountain of Koja, and the women of only one class, and that the most degraded, were permitted to enter Decima. At night the gates were shut, and no intercourse was allowed between the Factory and the town after sunset. This was the case when we were there; but our passage to and from the ship was free and uninterrupted; nor were

we exposed to that rigorous personal examination of which some of the old Dutch writers complain so bitterly. It must be admitted that their conduct provoked the annoyance. The captain of Thunberg's ship was in the habit of going on shore in breeches of enormous capacity even for a Dutchman, so heavily laden with secreted articles of contraband that he required the support of two sailors to enable him to walk. The Japanese, disposed, in the first instance, to believe well of strangers, are, on the other hand, when their suspicions are once awakened, vigilant in the extreme, and are not slow in enforcing preventive measures. Let the fate of the Dutch skipper be a warning to the British smuggler, who has been known occasionally to extend his operations eastward of the Cape: that dishonest navigator was obliged to reduce his trousers to the dimensions of those worn by portly burgomasters, and was further subject to the indignity of having his legs felt, and his pockets turned inside out, upon the rare occasions when, in compliance with the urgent representations of the Dutch superintendent, the Governor allowed him to land and visit the Factory. Henceforward no man was considered safe. One gentleman was betrayed by an indiscreet parrot talking in his pocket; another had sewn up dollars in his drawers; so that the Japanese researches became more curious than ever, even to the gauging of high-flavoured cheeses and the breaking of suspected eggs. Thus has commercial dishonesty and political

subserviency worked to the prejudice of the foreigner in the mind of the Japanese, whose confidence in us can only be restored by the adherence of the merchant to a high code of mercantile morality, and by the maintenance, on the part of those who represent our country, of its national dignity.

It will be well, in considering the present position and prospects of the Dutch in this Empire, to observe how little they have gained by pursuing a course which has not merely discredited them in the eyes of the Japanese, but placed them on a moral footing inferior to that which it is now in the power of other foreign nations to adopt. Truly does old Kæmpfer remark, "So great was the covetousness of the Dutch, and so strong the alluring power of the Japanese gold, that, rather than quit the prospect of a trade (indeed most advantageous), they willingly underwent an almost perpetual imprisonment—for such, in fact, is our residence in Decima; and chose to suffer many hardships in a foreign and heathen country—to be remiss in performing Divine service on Sundays and solemn festivals—to leave off praying and singing of psalms—entirely to avoid the sign of the cross, the calling upon the name of Christ in presence of the natives, and all the outer signs of Christianity; and, lastly, patiently and submissively to bear the abusive and injurious behaviour of these proud infidels towards us, than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a generous and noble mind."

So great was the horror and contempt of the

foreigner with which their intercourse, first with the Portuguese and then with the Dutch, had inspired the Government, that every Japanese connected in any way with the Decima Factory was obliged to take certain oaths, the infraction of which was visited upon the delinquent with the severest penalties. He was bound not to serve the Dutch but in the day-time; not to enter into any discourse or conversation whatever about the forbidden sect of the Christians; not to engage in any familiarity with the Dutch upon any subject whatever,—besides numerous rigid rules having reference to complicity in contraband transactions. From the extreme reticence observed by all the officials with whom we came in contact during our stay in Japan, we had every reason to believe that they were bound by instructions, if not by oaths, of the same tenor, in their intercourse with us.

It will doubtless be a tedious and somewhat difficult task to dispel those unfavourable impressions, which the Japanese can scarcely be blamed for entertaining towards us. Still their prejudices upon this point are not insuperable, and if we fail to remove them, it will only be because we have failed to prove by our practice that the civilisation of the West does not contaminate those with whom it comes in contact.

Hitherto the Japanese have apparently regarded the fair sex of foreign countries as more dangerous guests than the males. A touching story is told of a certain Dutch President of Decima of thirty years since, one

Herr Blomhoff, who brought his wife to Nagasaki, and, pending a reference to Yedo, obtained permission for her and her infant to land at Decima. Two months had scarcely elapsed, however, before a ruthless decree arrived, ordering the Vrouw Blomhoff to quit the Japanese shores, and condemning the unhappy husband to a long life of single-blessedness. The last rumour which reached us just before leaving Shanghai was to the effect that a wedding had been consummated at Nagasaki between a young English couple, who thus inaugurated in a most interesting manner the new and enlightened régime. In former times, not only a wedding, but a birth or death of a Japanese was prohibited at Decima. It was a more simple matter interfering with the operations of nature in the former than in the latter event. In the case of a sudden death, the body was secretly conveyed out of the Factory. All children born of Japanese mothers were regarded as Japanese.

One of the most recent and important concessions which Mr Donker Curtius had obtained from the Japanese Government, was permission for the children so born to be educated in Holland,—on condition, however, that in the event of their ever revisiting Japan, they should be treated as Dutch subjects. Letters arrived while we were at Decima, from that gentleman, stating that he was at Ohosaka, on his return journey from Yedo.

Returning on board the Furious with our report of Decima and its inmates, we landed again in the

afternoon to explore the town of Nagasaki. As we neared the crowd of boats moored at the stone steps of the wharf, I experienced that feeling of pleasurable excitement, the keen edge of which becomes so blunted by the very necessity of the traveller's vocation, that he often despairs of ever again experiencing those delightful sensations incidental to strange and novel scenes which first lured him away from his fireside. Up to this moment, the town itself had been only partially visible, for a sort of embankment runs along the shore at a distance of a few yards from the sea, and in the hollow behind it are situated the principal streets. There was no great crowd collected to watch our landing—foreigners were becoming a daily sight—and we were allowed to follow our inclinations in our choice of a line of exploration.

A flight of steps ascends the embankment, at the top of which is situated one of the official residences of the Governor. This embankment, which is in fact a sort of raised parterre, is of considerable width, and a broad street runs along its whole length. Crossing this, we reach the head of the flight of steps that descend into the town, which now lies at our feet. The view is peculiarly striking, especially to the stranger who has just arrived from China. Instead of an indefinite congeries of houses built apparently on no settled plan, and so close together that the streets which divide them are completely concealed, we saw before us a wide spacious street, about a mile in length, flanked by neat houses, gene-

rally of two stories, with tiled or wooden roofs, and broad eaves projecting over the lower story. A *pavé* ran down the centre of the street, on each side of which it was carefully gravelled to the gutters. No wheeled vehicle or beast of burden was however visible, but, in default, a plentiful sprinkling of foot-passengers gave it an air of life and animation. It terminated in the distance in a flight of steps, which soon disappeared amid the foliage of the hill-side, crowned with a temple or tea-house, or gleaming with the white-washed walls of some fire-proof store-house.

As we traversed its entire length no foul odours assailed our nostrils, or hideous cutaneous objects offended our eyesight; nor did inconvenient walls or envious shutters debar us from inspecting, as we passed along, the internal economy of the shops and dwellings on each side. Light wooden screens, neatly papered, and running on slides, are for the most part pushed back in the daytime, and the passer looks through the house, to where the waving shrubs of a cool-looking back-garden invite him to extend his investigations. Between the observer and this retreat there are probably one or two rooms, raised about two feet from the ground; and upon the scrupulously clean and well-wadded matting, which is stretched upon the wooden floor, semi-nude men and women loll and lounge, and their altogether nude progeny crawl and feast themselves luxuriously at ever-present fountains. The women seldom wear anything above their

A LADY AT HER TOILET.
from a Japanese Drawing

waists, the men only a scanty loin-cloth. In the mid-day, during the summer, a general air of languor pervades the community: about sunset the world begins to wash, and the Japanese youth, like copper-coloured Cupids, riot tumultuously.

The shops do not generally contain those articles in lacker and china ware for which Japan is so justly celebrated. To obtain them we must visit the Dutch or Russian bazaars; but our interest is kept alive by the varied productions of native manufacture exhibited in the shops, which are as open to the street as stalls at a fancy-fair, and which contain all those articles which are in common request among the people. Umbrella, fan, and shoe shops abounded; bazaars for toys and glass ornaments arrested us for a moment; but time was precious, and we could not do more than glance cursorily at the novelties displayed, and vainly endeavour to comprehend the object of various processes and manufactures which were being industriously carried on, but the result of which, in default of an interpreter, remained a mystery. Indeed, except from the Dutch gentlemen at Decima, we found it difficult, during our short stay at Nagasaki, to obtain any information, as only one Japanese had picked up a very few words of English. All the interpreters spoke Dutch, a language of which my knowledge was extremely limited; nor was it spoken by any of our party. Our rambles through Nagasaki, therefore, though in the highest degree amusing and

attractive, possessed the one drawback of leaving the curiosity and interest they had excited at every turn unsatisfied. Nor could we gratify ourselves by making purchases of curiosities. As yet we had not been introduced to the Government money-changers, who sat in solemn conclave at the Russian Bazaar; and no consideration could induce a shopkeeper to accept the smallest or even the largest foreign coin. Well did he know that the eye of his neighbour was upon him, and that an official visit the next morning would remind him of his oblivion of that great national institution of universal espionage, which would with us be considered an intolerable tyranny, but which the Japanese regard as a necessary ingredient to the welfare and protection of society.

We pursued our peregrinations through the streets of Nagasaki unmolested, and almost unnoticed by the people, who did not crowd the thoroughfares with busy, noisy clamour as in China, but strolled carelessly along, apparently little troubled with occupation, with an air of amiable contentment on their features, and an expression of kindly goodnature towards the curious, wondering strangers. Although Kæmpfer speaks of numerous beggars, I did not observe any, with the exception of one or two religious mendicants. A stream, about the size of an ordinary canal, intersects the town in a lateral direction, and is spanned by thirty or forty bridges, of which about fifteen are solidly constructed of stone, with handsome balustrades. Balconies, filled with women en-

gaged in domestic avocations, overhang the water; small boats ply upon its surface; and here and there the quaint old buttresses of the bridges are partly concealed with creeping plants, and across them numerous passengers pass and repass. It is interesting to stand on one of these and watch the humours of the place, while we enjoy the picturesque view which it affords.

Nagasaki contains upwards of eighty streets crossing each other at right angles, and from three-quarters of a mile to a mile in length. Its population is estimated at about 60,000; but it presents a far more imposing appearance, and covers a much greater area of ground, than a Chinese city of the same dimensions. Its outskirts run up into the secluded valleys formed by the surrounding hills, the spurs of which descend into the town, so that almost every street terminates in a flight of stone steps; and indeed some of them, which we visited afterwards, climb the hill-sides, the houses being built one above the other, as at Malta.

We terminated our first day's exploration of Nagasaki by a second visit to Decima, for the purpose of seeing the Dutch Bazaar. Crossing the moat which separates the Factory from the town and makes an island of it, we pass through the gateway, under which, in a sanctum of their own, sit three or four officials, called by the Dutch "Banjos," whose business it is to inspect narrowly every person seeking ingress and egress, and every article or package

which is carried in or out. In former times these janitors were in a most responsible position, and their functions were regarded by the Japanese Government as of the utmost importance. Now, however, the recent relaxations with reference to foreigners have diminished the cares of office; and these dreaded *custodii*, so long the bugbears of the Dutch *employés* at Decima, will soon cease to exist, or dwindle into respectable sinecurists.

It was late ere, utterly exhausted by the interest and excitement of our first day in Japan, we sought our floating home.

CHAPTER II.

MISSIONARY SUCCESS OF ZAVIER—SUPERNATURAL GIFTS—HEROISM OF JAPANESE CONVERTS—THEOLOGICAL ARGUMENTS OF CONVERTS: THEIR OBJECTIONS TO ETERNAL PUNISHMENT—LOUIS ALMEYDA—THE PRINCE OF OMURA—HIS CONVERSION—FOUNDING OF NAGASAKI—CONVERSION OF PRINCES—FATE OF NAGASAKI—DEATH OF SUMITANDA—CONSTITUTION OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT—THE TWO EMPERORS—TAIKO-SAMA—PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS—PROJECTS OF TAIKO-SAMA: HIS INVASION OF THE COREA—NAGASAKI ANNEXED BY THE ZIOGOON—WILLIAM ADAMS—BRITISH FACTORY IN JAPAN—JAPANESE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS—INTRIGUES OF THE DUTCH—EXPULSION OF THE PORTUGUESE—ESTABLISHMENT OF DECIMA.

NAGASAKI was not in former times, as it is now, one of the Imperial demesnes, or lands appertaining to the Crown. It became so in consequence of a series of events over which it may not be uninteresting to cast a retrospective glance, as possessing some historical importance, and as illustrating the internal political condition of a portion of Japan to which the earliest associations of foreigners are attached, and which may convey some idea of the working of that system of government which still prevails in the Empire.

The first intercourse which the Japanese held with

foreigners, was of a character which induced them to form the highest opinion of the advantages which were to be derived from the cultivation of relations with a race so far advanced in civilisation, and under the influence of a religion of an elevating and apparently harmless tendency. The zeal and attainments of the sainted Zavier, and that band of devoted missionaries who immediately succeeded him, produced a revolution in the religious sentiments of a large and influential section of the community. The history of the acts of these first apostles of the Christian faith, as described in the works of Pères Bouhours, de Charlevoix, Marini, Froes, and others, though written, doubtless, under an inspiration not always to be depended upon, is a striking evidence of the influence which the Christian religion, under whatever form it is introduced, is calculated to produce upon minds which have been beforehand sufficiently cultivated and civilised to appreciate its merits. As in the Roman world, its ennobling doctrines seized hold of the minds of educated men, and gradually expelled the philosophies and creeds which had heretofore satisfied them : so did it commend itself to the refined and intellectual Japanese, spreading with a rapidity second only to that which marked its progress in the apostolic ages.

If we are to believe the records of these later fathers of the Church, who have recorded the history of the first missionary efforts in Japan, that supernatural aid was not withheld, which contributed so

largely to the success of the first propagators of Christianity in the West: Zavier is stated to have been endowed with the gift of tongues, and to have preached eloquently in Corean, Lewchew, Chinese, and Japanese, without ever having studied a word of those extremely complicated languages. His biographers record hundreds of miraculous conversions; and, according to Père Charlevoix,* he restored a dead girl to life under circumstances which utterly confounded his enemies the Bonzes, who, like the Pharisees of old, dogged his footsteps and exerted all their energies in vain to counteract his daily increasing influence, and by secret intrigues and open arguments to destroy him and confute his doctrines.

Whatever may have been the means of proselytism which he employed, of the marvellous results there can be no doubt; and it is worthy of the attention of those interested in the conversion of the heathen, to consider how far the success which attends their efforts may depend upon the nature and amount of the cultivation which the soil has received before the seed is sown. There can be no doubt that the imaginative Japanese, hearing of Christianity for the first time, would receive it in a very different spirit from an untamed New Zealander, or a calmly-sceptical Chinaman. Nor was the faith thus implanted in the breasts of some hundreds of thousands of converts a mere nominal creed, to be swept away by the first wave of persecution. It not only furnished them with courage,

* *Père de Charlevoix*, vol. ii. p. 42

but with arguments with which to meet their persecutors. The answer of a neophyte who was asked how he would respond to his sovereign if ordered to abjure Christianity, is thus recorded: "Sire, would you wish me to remain faithful, and ever to preserve that submission which it is seemly for a subject to feel towards his king?—would you wish me to manifest zeal for your service on all occasions on which I can be of use, so that no private interest should cause me to forget what I owe you?—would you wish me to be meek, temperate, and loving, full of charity towards my equals—that I should patiently suffer all the ill-treatment to which I may be exposed?—command me then to remain a Christian, for it is from a Christian alone that all this can be reasonably expected."

The early records of the Church do not afford instances of more unflinching heroism than is furnished in the narratives of those martyrdoms to which Japanese of all ranks were subjected when the day of trial came. Thousands were slaughtered at Simabarra, thousands more tormented and put to death in cold blood, or rolled down the Pappenberg; yet we have reason to believe that the last spark has never yet been extinguished, and that, smouldering secretly, the fire of François Zavier still burns in the bosoms of some of those who have received the traditions of his teaching. It is to be regretted that the inordinate love of political power which characterises the disciples of Loyola, should have led the successors of

the first missionaries into intrigues which terminated so disastrously for themselves and their creed, for thereby they have closed Japan to those Protestant missionary efforts which the government of that Empire are now firmly resolved on resisting.

Believing that Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, is but an excuse for the secret acquisition of political influence, they regard with equal dislike and suspicion the missionaries of either creed; nor does it seem probable at present, at all events, that opportunities will be afforded us of teaching them the difference. That they would have little difficulty in appreciating it, so far as their intelligence is concerned, were any exposition on the subject permitted, there can be no doubt.

We have the record of a treatise published by the Japanese neophytes, proving the superiority of the Christian religion over that of the sects of Japan; while the arguments with which they met at the outset the teaching of Zavier, prove how competent they were intellectually to detect the mysteries of the religion he promulgated. "One thing," says his biographer, "nevertheless arrested the progress of the evangelist. It was difficult to prove to the Japanese that those who, during their lives, had not worshipped the true God, would be consigned to everlasting fire in hell. They could not reconcile this article of faith with the infinite goodness of God. 'If the incarnate Word,' said they, 'died for all, why should not His death profit all? If He condemns to

eternal punishment all those who are not obedient to His law, why has He delayed the announcement of it to us during more than 1500 years?' The Bonzes did not fail to support these objections, and added, 'that the priests of the Christians were good for nothing, since they had not the power of drawing one single soul out of hell, whereas this they themselves accomplished every day by the merit of their fasts and prayers; that this God must be either very cruel, in not being willing to put an end to the punishment of the damned, or very impotent, in not being *able* to do it.'"

"The Japanese love tenderly all who are related to them by ties of blood, and the memory of their ancestors is dear and precious to them. They could not be content to regard them as reprobates. 'What!' cried they, bursting into tears—'our fathers, our children, our relations, our friends—must they remain during all eternity the unfortunate victims and the objects of vengeance of a God whom they would without doubt have adored if they had known Him? and this great God, who is represented to us as goodness and equity itself, will He have no regard to their ignorance?' They melted into tears while speaking thus; the whole place resounded with their sobs and with their cries, which so touching a thought made them send up to heaven; and the missionaries could not help mingling their tears with those of their neophytes."

The tears of their teachers must, however, have

been but a poor consolation to these unhappy Japanese, who would at once have appreciated the practical distinction in favour of a creed which gave them the benefit of the doubt upon so momentous a subject.

It must not be supposed that the Jesuits confined themselves to the propagation of their faith alone: to the exertions of Louis Almeyda, a Portuguese gentleman of singular energy and tact, and who joined the order in Japan, is owing the successful establishment of the greater number of those Portuguese colonies of which Nagasaki became ultimately the most celebrated, and the political importance of which was the first indication that the Emperor received of the growing ambition of the Portuguese.

When first Louis Almeyda paid a round of visits to the kings and princes of the island of Kiusiu, those high dignitaries almost quarrelled for the honour of his acquaintance, and rivalled each other in their ardour to induce him to form establishments in their divers petty kingdoms. He succeeded even in persuading some of these princes to embrace Christianity: those who were indifferent or opposed to it he conciliated, and gained the friendship of the Bonzes themselves, some of whom, upon one occasion, applied to be baptised, and were only refused upon the ground of the obligation under which they lay to take part in the funeral obsequies of their Prince, in the event of his death, in accordance with the religion of their country.

But the conversion which was fraught with the most serious consequences to Christianity in Japan, and the ultimate fate of the Portuguese colonies there, was that of the Prince of Omura, which was made in the year 1562. Though only a state of the province of Fizen, and in some sort in vassalage to his brother the King of Arima, Sumitanda the Prince of Omura, who had never taken the title of king, was a man of great power and influence, and of an advanced and enlightened mind. His perusal of some of the Jesuit works, and his ready and instinctive appreciation of the advantages which might be derived from the introduction of the Portuguese into his principality, induced him to make overtures to Almeyda, who was then at Firando, inviting him to form an establishment in Omura. Notwithstanding the efforts made by the King of Firando to frustrate the project of his rival, Sumitanda had the satisfaction shortly after of welcoming Almeyda to his country, and establishing him in the port of Vocotsura, of which he made a concession to the Portuguese.

The Jesuit establishment proved an attraction to the Christians in the neighbouring province, whilst the commencement of an active commerce soon raised the little collection of cottages, which originally formed the town, to the dignity of an active and bustling mercantile emporium. Meantime the ecclesiastical superiors of the establishment devoted themselves to the conversion of the Prince, a task in which they apparently found no great difficulty. He is said to

have met them with these words: "I am come here, my fathers, to hear your discourse on your religion. Consider, I beseech you, my heart as ground well prepared; do not fear to sow in it the seed of the Divine word. I trust that, under the blessing of Heaven, it may bring forth fruit. Moreover, my intention is not to limit its fruits to myself alone; I hope to extend them to all my subjects."

The result, as may be anticipated, of the teaching of the missionaries on a mind so disposed, was the declaration of his adhesion to the tenets of Christianity. One obstacle alone remained to the public profession of his faith. Sumitanda was childless, and he feared that so decided a step might involve his principality, so long as his throne was without a successor, in trouble. He therefore, for the present, contented himself with wearing a cross upon his bosom, and, thus attired, appeared at the court of his relative the King of Arima, and announced his intention of becoming a Christian as soon as he should be blessed with a son and heir. The result of the visit was to induce the King of Arima to send for the ever-active Almeyda, who proceeded to form establishments at various points in his dominions. Meantime the Prince of Omura was zealously forwarding the cause of proselytism in his own states, and destroying the temples and idols with which they abounded.

It was not without serious opposition that Sumitanda thus warmly seconded the efforts of the

missionaries. The Buddhist and Sintoo priesthood, finding their religion thus violently attacked by the highest authority, perceiving that their influence was daily lessening, and their office becoming discredited in the eyes of the people, entered into a conspiracy, at the head of which they placed the illegitimate son of the former prince. This was joined by many of the councillors of state, who still remained true to their heathen worship. Their first act was to destroy the palace and greater part of the town of Omura by fire, and to proclaim the usurper prince; they then marched upon the obnoxious Portuguese colony and Jesuit settlement of Vocotsura, and succeeded in reducing it also to ashes. Sumitanda, however, was not discouraged by these reverses, and, gathering about him those who still remained faithful to his cause, he marched on the insurgents, whom he utterly routed and defeated in a pitched battle with great slaughter, taking prisoner and decapitating their leader.

Shortly after this Sumitanda received a letter from the King of Portugal, congratulating him upon his conversion to Christianity, and swearing eternal friendship. In 1569 he formed the project of building a church at a spot in his dominions then called Fucaye, or Long Bay, now known as Nagasaki. This latter name is said to have been that by which the district was originally known, when the property of a family of Japanese nobility, to whom it belonged previous to its annexation to the princi-

pality of Omura. Be that as it may, Nagasaki soon rose into a thriving city: its advantages of situation, superior to those of any other port on the coast, attracted a large community of Portuguese, and it quickly became the centre of great commercial activity. Meantime the Prince of Omura, waxing stronger in the faith, and more learned in the doctrines of Christianity, believing that inasmuch as "he that provideth not for them of his own household hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel"—considering further, that a prince ought to be to his subjects what a father is to his family, and that he would be responsible for the safety of those who died in unbelief—decided on all his subjects becoming Christian, and, collecting the chief families of his state, received with them the rite of baptism.

Hitherto we have followed exclusively the fortunes of Sumitanda, Prince of Omura, not only as being the most interesting and enlightened of the royal converts who abounded in those days, but as the founder of the settlement destined to become celebrated on account of the singular position it has since held among the mercantile emporia of the world. It would be a tedious and somewhat unprofitable task to follow the Jesuit fathers in their prolix accounts of the progress of Christianity in all the different principalities into which it was introduced, to narrate the wars between the Princes of Bungo and Firando, to follow the tortuous policy of the King of Arima, or recount at length the extraordinary conversion of his high-

ness of Gotto. Still more difficult would it be, but more interesting withal, to accompany the devoted Father Vilela on his mission into the interior, and become involved under his guidance, at Miako or Ximo, in those never-ending intrigues which characterised the Imperial Court in those days. Father Vilela, more ambitious than his predecessors and colleagues, devoted himself to the conversion of the highest dignitaries of the realm, and, engaging deeply in the political complications which at that time were working out great changes in the government of the country, hoped to reap for the faith which he promulgated those temporal advantages upon the possession of which he relied for its ultimate triumph.

It may be necessary, before leaving Japan, to revert cursorily to some other of the more important episodes in its history; but, in the mean time, the fate of Nagasaki and its prince more immediately claims our attention. In 1579, the persecutions which overtook the Christians in some of the neighbouring principalities, whose rulers were bitterly hostile to a faith the aggressive character of which they had begun to suspect, induced the Portuguese at Nagasaki to prepare for any contingency which might arise in the event of the death of the faithful Sumitanda, by fortifying the city. This was done, and batteries were erected, more especially for the purpose of securing the ships which might be in the harbour. The death of the Christian King of Gotto about this time, and the revolution which succeeded in his

State, drove many of his converted subjects to seek a refuge at Nagasaki. About five years after this, the King of Bungo, who had become a convert, the King of Arima, and the Prince of Omura, decided on sending a mission to Rome, consisting of four Japanese of the highest rank, and related to the princes they went to represent. These envoys were most graciously received by his Holiness, to whom they presented the letters of which they were the bearers, and which, as they were in all probability written for them by the fathers, are scarcely worth insertion. The heading of the King of Bungo's is as follows :—" A celui qui doit être adoré, et qui tient la place du Roi du Ciel, le grand et très-Saint Pape." That of the Prince of Omura, " Les mains élevés vers le Ciel, et dans les sentiments d'une veneration profonde j'adore le très Saint Pape, qui tient la place de Dieu sur la terre, et lui présente humblement cette lettre."

These epistles were cordially responded to by Pope Sixtus V., and after making a tour of Italy and part of Spain, the Japanese ambassadors returned to their country highly delighted with their Western experiences. In 1587, Sumitanda, Prince of Omura, died, to the great grief of all who had at heart the cause of Christianity. He was, however, consoled during his last moments by the reflection, that in the long-wished-for son, whose tardy appearance in the world had, it may be remembered, deferred his baptism, he left behind him a worthy successor. Notwithstanding the good intentions of the young prince, and the zeal

of his subjects, and many of the most influential among the neighbouring princes, misfortunes now began to overtake the Christians; and the first of that series of events occurred which ultimately drove the Jesuits from Japan, and extinguished the faith they had laboured so diligently to propagate. That we may, however, appreciate the position of the Christians at this epoch, it is necessary to explain in a few words the conditions under which the affairs of the Empire were being administered.

In order to understand the system under which Japan is at present governed, it is scarcely needful to go back in our investigations to the reigns of the five god-men who between them ruled its destinies for 2,342,467 years, and whose successors were all more or less mythological or legendary characters. In the year 660 B.C., that theocratic form of government came into existence which still remains under altered conditions, and constitutes so singular a feature in the history of this people. Combined with an ecclesiastical hereditary authority of a very remarkable character, the Mikado in former times united theoretically in his own person an absolute and unlimited authority over those numerous feudal princes whose territories composed his empire. It could scarcely be expected that the prestige attending the sacred functions with which he was invested, and the despotic power which he exercised, would prove sufficient in themselves to check the ambitious designs of those feudal chiefs, who, more enterprising and less

submissive to spiritual despotism than their fellows, were tempted to make war upon each other, or even cope with the Imperial forces. This state of affairs reached its climax about the middle of the twelfth century; and so serious had it become, that it was found necessary to intrust the entire command of the army to a generalissimo, who assumed the title of Ziogoon. The first Ziogoon was a young man, by name Yoritomo, celebrated in the annals of Japan as the founder of that series of subordinate emperors, who, after dividing for a short time the temporal power with the Mikado or Spiritual Emperor, ultimately retained exclusive possession of it, and who are now in their turn being slowly squeezed out of this mundane sphere by the Council of State, who do virtually control the destinies of the country. As the two emperors are called by a variety of names, it may be as well, to avoid confusion, to specify them.

The proper appellation of the Spiritual Emperor is Mikado, but he is also frequently called Daïri, which means court or palace, and is an abbreviation of Daïri-Sama, or Lord of the Palace. In time of war the Temporal Emperor is called Ziogoon, or Generalissimo; in time of peace, Tycoon, or Koboe. The term Emperor, as applied to this dignitary, is one to which the Japanese especially object, though they do not deny that in him is nominally vested the supreme temporal power.

One of the Ziogoons of Japan, in the days of the early fathers, was a certain Nobanunga, originally

King of Mino and Voari, and who by his determined energy and daring acquired the temporal dignity. Nominally, the throne of the Tycoons is hereditary; but the history of its occupants tells the usual story of violence, intrigue, and blood.

Under the influence of Fathers Vilela and Valegnani, the fierce and haughty Nobanunga was induced to regard with a tolerant if not absolutely favourable eye the religion of the West, and during his reign it attained its most flourishing condition. In his answer to the Bonzes, as recorded by Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, who was shipwrecked there some years afterwards, he displayed a freedom from religious bigotry rarely to be met with in civilised countries at that period. "The Bonzes of all the sects having concurred in a request to the Emperor that he would expel our monks from Japan, the prince, troubled with their importunities, inquired how many different religions there were in Japan? 'Thirty-five,' was the reply. 'Well,' said he, 'where thirty-five sects can be tolerated, we can easily bear with thirty-six: leave the strangers in peace.'" This Prince fell a victim, in the year 1582, to one of his own generals, who, at the head of an army placed under his command by Nobanunga, besieged that monarch in his palace, and ultimately consumed it by fire, burying in its ashes the unfortunate Koboe and his eldest son.

His death was the signal for a struggle for the vacant throne. After five years of anarchy, during

three of which it was held by Fide Noba, it was seized by the celebrated Faxiba, or Taiko-Sama, a man whose early occupation it had been to cut wood in the forest, and carry it on his shoulders to the town, but who, being originally introduced into the palace of Nobanunga in a menial capacity, was discovered by that penetrating commander to be the possessor of great qualities, rapidly advanced under his favour to the chief command of his army, and finally acquired his throne under the pretext of preserving it for the grandson of his benefactor.

Taiko-Sama (for this was the name which he subsequently adopted, and which means "most exalted and sovereign lord") was unquestionably the most remarkable man who ever filled the throne of the Ziogoons. Of inordinate ambition, he combined great originality of conception with energy and skill in the execution of his daring projects. Fortifying himself by an alliance with the spiritual throne by his marriage with the daughter of the Mikado, whose indifference to sublunary affairs does not extend to his domestic relations, Taiko-Sama ruled the Empire with a hand of iron. The condition of the Empire at this time, and the change effected in it by this Ziogoon, are thus noticed by Kæmpfer: "The ambition and insolence of the Princes of the Empire was successively grown to such a height, that at last it became almost impossible for the ecclesiastical emperors to restrain and control them. In vain did they, for four ages together, send the Crown generals against them, at

the head of numerous armies. And yet this great work was brought about by Taiko in about ten years' time, not so much, indeed, by force of arms, as by his prudent conduct and good management." At first he professed great regard for the missionaries and respect for their religion, but the result of his observations, made during a tour through the western and most Christian portion of his dominions, induced him to alter his opinion, and issue an edict for the expulsion of every missionary from the Empire. This order was received with general dissatisfaction and remonstrance from the Kings of Arima and Omura, which only increased the irritation of the Emperor, who determined upon depriving the Prince of Omura of the port of Nagasaki, and taking possession of it for his own use.

The fortifications were consequently destroyed, some of the churches demolished, and the town itself only ransomed at a large price by the Prince of Omura, who was allowed to retain it. Meantime the missionaries concealed themselves in the palaces and cities of their converts, determined not to relinquish without a struggle a field in which their labours had been crowned with such an abundant measure of success. For some time Taiko appears to have been too much engaged with his various projects to care to enforce compliance with an edict which may possibly have been promulgated in a moment of irritation. His general success afterwards may have rendered him amiable. Be that as it may, the mission-

aries speedily emerged from their hiding-places, and resumed their efforts with redoubled energy; while the arrival of the ambassadors who had been to Rome, under the guidance of Father Valegnani, with the pontifical letters, was a most seasonable diversion in their favour. Their journey to Miako was a sort of triumphal progress; their reception at the capital an ovation. At their audience with the Ziogoon it is recorded that they were dressed like Italians, in black velvet, and speedily succeeded in creating an interest in the narration of their adventures, and conciliating the good-will of their sovereign. Shortly after this, these four Japanese nobles entered the Order of Jesus. Meantime the Governor of Nagasaki and his colleague occupied themselves, according to the Jesuit historian, in prejudicing the mind of the Ziogoon against the Christians, and so far succeeded as to induce him again to threaten them with expulsion. His answer to the letter brought to him by Father Valegnani from the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, is interesting and characteristic. After recapitulating at some length the success with which the execution of his projects had been uniformly attended, and the flourishing condition of the Empire of Japan in consequence, Taiko-Sama goes on to say:—

"This vast monarchy is like an immovable rock, and all the efforts of its enemies will not be able to shake it. Thus not only am I at peace at home, but persons come even from the most distant countries to render me that homage which is my due. Just now

I am projecting the subjugation of China; and as I have no doubt that I shall succeed in this design, I trust that we shall soon be much nearer to each other, and that communication will be much easier between us. As to that which regards religion, Japan is the kingdom of the Kamis, that is to say of Xim, which is the principle of everything. The welfare of the Government, which has been established from the commencement, depends upon the careful observance of those laws upon which it is founded, and which have the Kamis themselves for their authors. We cannot depart from them without perceiving the difference which subsists between sovereign and subjects disappear, as well as that subordination of women to their husbands, children to their parents, vassals to their lords, servants to their masters. In a word, these laws are necessary for the maintenance of order within and of tranquillity without. The fathers who are called of the company (of Jesus), are come into these islands to teach another religion; but as that of the Kamis is too well established to be abolished, this new law can only serve to introduce into Japan a diversity of religion prejudicial to the welfare of the State. That is why I have prohibited, by Imperial edict, these foreign doctors from continuing to preach their doctrine. I have even ordered them to leave Japan, and I am resolved no longer to allow persons to come here to '*debiter*' new opinions. I desire, nevertheless, that our commercial relations shall remain upon the same footing between us. The

Portuguese shall be allowed to communicate freely with my subjects, and I will permit no one to do them any injury."

In pursuance of his scheme for the subjugation of China, to which Taiko-Sama makes such an off-hand allusion in the above epistle, he fitted out four armies, three of which he sent to the Corea, where they gained two victories, seized the capital, drove the king from his throne into China, of which Empire he was a tributary, and spread consternation far and wide. A Chinese army was, however, speedily despatched to the Corea, and after sundry bloody engagements the war was terminated by mutual consent, Corean ambassadors being sent to treat with Taiko-Sama, who ultimately agreed to the following conditions: — 1st, That of the eight provinces of which the Corea is composed, five should belong to the Japanese; 2d, That the Emperor of China should give one of his daughters in marriage to the Emperor of Japan; 3d, That the commerce which had been for so long interrupted between China and Japan should be re-established; 4th, That the Emperor of China should pay an annual tribute to the Crown of Japan, as a recognition of the superiority of the latter potentate.

According to Kæmpfer, it was about three years after this, or about 1596, that the Emperor finally deprived the Prince of Omura of Nagasaki, and annexed it as an Imperial city to his dominions. The Jesuit fathers are wonderfully silent upon his motive

for this proceeding, but the Dutch historian states it to have been in consequence of the insolent behaviour of a priest to one of the councillors of state whom he met in the street. Whatever may have been the immediate cause, there can be no doubt that the position of the Portuguese at Nagasaki was becoming so consolidated as somewhat to menace the integrity of the Empire, a fact which sundry emissaries, who were sent at different times from the Philippines to maintain relations between the Spanish Government and the Emperor of Japan, were not slow to point out to that high personage. Indeed, the intrigues of the Spaniards, in their efforts to dislodge their rivals, form a fertile and rather tiresome theme with the old Jesuit chroniclers.

The rivalry of the Spaniards and Portuguese was religious rather than commercial, and it was not until the year 1599 that the arrival of the Dutch in Japan imported into the foreign relations of that Empire a new element. In the mean time hostilities had recommenced in the Corea, which had ultimately resulted in the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from that province, and the death of the redoubtable Taiko-Sama removed any further cause of alarm from the breast of his Celestial majesty.

On the accession of his successor Ogosho-Sama to the throne, both Spaniards and Portuguese redoubled their intrigues against each other, and their combined machinations against the Dutch. They made little impression, however, upon the enlightened and liberal-

minded monarch, who denied the right of any power to dictate the policy he should pursue in regard to strangers visiting his dominions, maintaining that all he cared for was the tranquillity of his country and the welfare of his people; and that, so long as strangers paid obedience to the laws, and by their fair and honourable dealings promoted the convenience and enjoyment of his subjects, it mattered not to him to what nation they belonged, or to what power in the West they were nominally subject. On the last occasion when a joint memorial was presented on the subject by the Spaniards and Portuguese, Ogosho seems to have lost all patience, and he drove the remonstrants ignominiously from his presence, vehemently declaring, that if "devils from hell were to visit his realm, they should be treated like angels from heaven," so long as they conducted themselves conformably with the principles he had laid down.*

To Englishmen, the associations connected with this sovereign are particularly interesting; for our countryman William Adams, who had piloted the first Dutch ship to Japan, and who was the first Englishman who had reached that Empire, attracted the favourable notice of Ogosho-Sama to so great an extent that he insisted upon his fairly entering his service—a fact which William Adams thus devoutly alludes to: "Now for my service, which I have doen and daily doe, being employed in the

* RUNDALL'S *Memorials.*

Emperor's service, he hath given me a living like unto a lordship in England, with eightie or nintie husbandmen, that be as my slaves or servants; which or the like precedent was never here before given to any stranger. Thus God hath provided for mee after my great miserie, and to Him only be all honnor and praise, power and glory, both now and for ever, worlde without ende."

Honest Adams proved that he was a Christian in practice as well as in profession, for in spite of the malignant aspersions which were thrown upon him and his country by Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch, who all yelled in common chorus at an interloper, he increased in influence and weight at court—"at which my former enemies did wonder, and at this time must entreat me to do them a friendship, which to both Spaniards and Portingals have I doen, recompensing them good for evill."

A few years after this, in 1613, Captain Saris arrived in Japan in command of the Clove, bearing a letter from King James the First to the Emperor of Japan, and through the instrumentality of Adams negotiated a most favourable treaty with Ogosho-Sama. We established a factory at Firando in consequence. It only existed for ten years, however: the bitter animosity of the Dutch, and the unscrupulous means they are said to have resorted to, to obstruct our trade, combined with the absence of any adequate demand for our productions, and our ignorance of the resources of the country with which we had opened relations,

led to the abandonment of the enterprise after about £40,000 had been spent upon it.

Meantime both Portuguese and Dutch were driving a lucrative trade; the former especially had derived enormous profits from their exports of gold and silver from Japan,—so much so, that Kæmpfer remarks, "It is believed that, had the Portuguese enjoyed the trade to Japan but twenty years longer, upon the same foot as they did for some time, such riches would have been transported out of this Ophir to Macao, and there would have been such a plenty and flow of gold and silver in that town, as sacred writs mention there was at Jerusalem in the times of Solomon." One of their own political economists, writing subsequently, complains of this. "I compute," he says,* "the annual exportation of gold at 150,000 kobans, so that in ten years this Empire is drained of fifteen hundred thousand kobans, equal to about £2,500,000. With the exception of medicines, we can dispense with everything that is brought us from abroad. The stuffs and other foreign commodities are of no real benefit to us. All the gold, silver, and copper extracted from the mines during the reign of Ogosho-Sama, and since his time, is gone, and, what is still more to be regretted, for things we could do well without."

We have no reason, however, for supposing that considerations of political economy entered into the

* From a treatise composed in 1708 by the Prime Minister of the Emperor Tsonna Yosi, quoted by Titzingh in the "Illustrations of Japan."

policy of the Emperor when he determined on the expulsion of the Portuguese from his dominions, and the toleration of the Dutch only under restrictions of the most humiliating character.

We have had evidence sufficient of the liberal and tolerant disposition of successive Japanese monarchs upon the subject of foreigners to assume that, had the latter confined themselves to mercantile operations, that generous hospitality would still have been accorded to them, which distinguished the Japanese in their earlier intercourse with strangers.

It is scarcely necessary to enter here upon a discussion of the immediate cause which led to the expulsion of the Portuguese and extermination of the Christians. It forms a subject of much vehement recrimination between the Jesuit fathers and early Dutch chroniclers. According to Kæmpfer, letters were intercepted by the Dutch, revealing a conspiracy in which the Japanese Christians had engaged, in conjunction with the Portuguese, against the Emperor's life and throne. According to Père Charlevoix, these letters were forged by the Dutch for the purpose of giving colour to the malicious libels which the latter were inventing against their rivals. However that may be, these two enlightened Western Powers succeeded between them in causing the name of Christ to be hated and despised, and in hermetically sealing up for two centuries a rich and productive country, inhabited by one of the most amiable and civilised races in the world. The following proclamation was the result of

the miserable triumph achieved by the Dutch over their competitors: "No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country: who acts contrary to this shall die, and the ship, with the crew and goods on board, shall be sequestered until further orders. All Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a priest, shall have a reward of from four to five hundred shuets (equal to the same number of pounds) of silver, and for every Christian in proportion. All persons who propagate the doctrine of the Christians, or bear this scandalous name, shall be imprisoned in the Omera or common jail of the town. The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao. Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he hath been banished, shall die, with all his family also: whoever presumes to intercede for them shall be put to death."

Then followed that frightful series of persecutions, not exceeded in horror or ingenuity of torment by those to which the early Christians were subjected; and in carrying out their ruthless policy against the Christians, the Japanese always found in the Dutch ready and willing assistants. These importunate traders lost no opportunity of insinuating themselves into the good graces of the islanders. They brought over the most exquisite objects of art and nature for annual presents, and demeaned themselves rather as willing slaves than as free burghers. When ordered to

demolish their own warehouses and factories, because they were built of finer blocks of hewn stone than the buildings of the country, and were inscribed with the date of the Christian era, they did so with seeming satisfaction, and finally put a climax to their obedience by bombarding, at the behest of the Japanese Government, 37,000 Christians, who were cooped up within the walls of Simabarra.

It was about this time, or in 1636, that Decima was founded. Since that period the Dutch have been confined to its limited area, and have consistently pursued the policy which had been inaugurated under such tragical circumstances. During these last two hundred years they have not even had the profits of a lucrative trade to console them for the ignominy with which they have been treated; on the contrary, it has steadily diminished in proportion as the indignities to which they have been exposed have increased, so that they have been glad, during these last few years, to make a merit of necessity, and profess an earnest desire to assist in promoting intercourse between the Japanese and other nations. Already their monopoly has disappeared. In the race which is about to ensue, their full-bosomed old craft will drop behind the horizon, and in ten years hence the Dutch trade with Japan will have become matter of history.

CHAPTER III.

A SURFEIT OF SENSATIONS—THE DUTCH AND RUSSIAN BAZAARS—MONEY-CHANGERS—TEMPTING INVESTMENTS—VISIT FROM THE VICE-GOVERNOR—A RIDING-SCHOOL—SURROUNDING COUNTRY—A VISIT TO A TEA-GARDEN—FEASTING AND MUSIC—PRODUCTIONS OF FIZEN—COAL-MINES—PRINCE OF SATSUMA—JAPANESE CLASSES AT NAGASAKI—MILITARY ORGANISATION—A GALE OF WIND—VOLCANIC ERUPTIONS—PLACES OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT—A STORMY NIGHT—ARRIVAL AT SIMODA—DANGEROUS HARBOUR.

I FIND it difficult, in attempting to convey our first impressions of Japan, to avoid presenting a too highly coloured picture to the mind of the reader. The contrast with China was so striking, the evidences of a high state of civilisation so unexpected, the circumstances of our visit were so full of novelty and interest, that we abandoned ourselves to the excitement and enthusiasm they produced. There exists not a single disagreeable association to cloud our reminiscences of that delightful country. Each day gave us fresh proofs of the amiable and generous character of the people amongst whom we were. Each moment of the day furnished us with some new fact worthy of notice. Our powers of observation were kept constantly on the stretch, but one felt they were over-

taxed; the time was too short; sights and impressions crowded on each other with a painful rapidity and variety. It was like being compelled to eat a whole *paté de fois gras* at a sitting; the dish was too rich and highly charged with truffles for one's mental digestion. At the time it was delicious; it is only afterwards when you try to arrange the facts and describe the experiences that the inconvenience attending a surfeit of sensations of this sort makes itself felt.

When we landed at the Factory early next morning we found it crowded with British purchasers, both at the Dutch and Russian bazaars; lacquer and china ware, bronzes and delicate basket-work, were arranged in tempting display. The beauty and elegance of all we saw delighted and astonished us: it was only when we had "shopped" at Yedo that we came to hold Nagasaki workmanship at a proper estimation, and to appreciate the difference between those articles which are manufactured and exhibited there for the European market, and those which are made for the Japanese themselves. As a rule, Nagasaki lacquer is of a most inferior description; the shapes and patterns are nearly all of Dutch suggestion, and the mother-of-pearl with which they are so abundantly and gorgeously inlaid is purely a Western invention. The egg-shell China is also manufactured for the European market; it is an exquisitely delicate fabric, made principally in the provinces of Fizen and Satsuma, and not used by the Japanese

themselves. We were not able to obtain any of the thinnest description at Yedo.

In bronzes the Japanese far excel the Chinese, the design and workmanship being infinitely superior. At Nagasaki, the result of intercourse with Europeans for two centuries and a half is very apparent. There were to be seen admirable telescopes of native manufacture, clocks, magnifying-glasses, and glass ware of various descriptions, besides many imitations of European fabrics. The Russian bazaar, which was situated on the mainland, is built like an Eastern caravanserai; it is a paved square, surrounded with small wooden houses and verandahs, full of articles for sale. At the entrance gateway are a certain number of officials, who now take little heed of the visitor, and always appeared to me engaged in making servile obeisances to one another, and drinking very hot tea out of curiously-constructed steamers. The chief building in the square is devoted to the exchange of foreign money for Japanese paper currency.

In an up-stairs room, approached by a scrupulously clean staircase, on the upper step of which is a row of Japanese slippers, sit three or four grave two-sworded officials round a table on which are placed two boxes, one full of metallic, the other of paper currency. It is useless to endeavour to persuade a Japanese shopkeeper to take a foreign coin, however large and tempting it may be. The Government has forbidden him to receive anything from the foreigner but the little oblong pieces of card which bear the Govern-

ment stamp; so to this little room every foreigner is compelled to resort to obtain an available circulating medium. The currency between the foreigners and the tradespeople is taels, mace, can, and cash—in name the same as in China, but representing very different values, inasmuch as Japanese paper-money is granted by the treasury in exchange for Spanish and Mexican dollars, at the rate of four taels seven mace per dollar.

Meantime there is a great crush of naval officers round the small table, and the usual manifestation of impatience on the part of the Anglo-Saxon, but the Japanese lose neither "count" nor "countenance." They maintain the affable imperturbability of croupiers at German gambling-tables. They never make a mistake, or cease to smile blandly; and if we are in a hurry, we had better make up our minds to sit quietly on a bench near the window which overlooks the canal till our turn comes. We can watch the boats plying with heavy loads along it, and observe the family arrangements of the houses, with balconies overhanging it; or we can look inwards, and wonder at the extraordinary cleanliness of the padded mat under our feet, and the inexhaustible patience of the money-changers, and moralise over the differences in the civilisation and national characters of Englishmen and Japanese, and try whether Mr Buckle's theory will account for them; or we may look out of the opposite window into the yard, where an extensive and lucrative business is

being carried on by the Japanese licensed by the Government to trade with Europeans. They are struggling manfully with the English language; are inflexible as regards price, not to be beaten down, and are almost as importunate and insinuating in their manner to the foreign young gentlemen, as if it was a fancy bazaar for a charitable purpose, and they were English young ladies, and had stalls. Then there are officious porters in readiness to carry away purchases; but their services are rejected by independent middies, who prefer staggering away under their own lacquer, and all the while at the entrance-gate reverential greetings are continually going on, and the imbibing of hot tea.

But we must not linger too long here, for the Vice-Governor is coming on board to lunch, and it is time for us to return to the ship to receive him. He arrives seated in the bows of a stately barge, surrounded by a number of attendants, and with numerous black and white flags fluttering from the stern. He is a plebeian-looking man, with an extremely smiling countenance and very short legs. They are encased in loose trousers, not unlike knickerbockers, of damask embroidery, of a pattern that would be considered rather too gaudy for curtains. He bows repeatedly and rapidly, and his two swords, like a double tail, cock up responsively. His legs, below the knee, are neatly gaitered, and his stockinged feet are thrust into straw sandals. Across his bosom are many folds of fine cotton, which

compose his shirt, and over it a thin gauze tunic completes his costume. Luncheon has been prepared for him and some of his followers, and he is soon seated at Lord Elgin's right hand, drinking champagne, and handling his knife and fork as if he usually lived in London. The other Japanese present seemed equally accustomed to Western manners. The Vice-Governor had been sent on the part of the Governor to express his regret that illness prevented his seeing Lord Elgin, and at the same time to request that the yacht, which he understood had been brought over as a present to the Emperor, should be made over to the Japanese Governor at Nagasaki. As Lord Elgin depended chiefly for an excuse for proceeding to Yedo upon the necessity of delivering the yacht, if possible, to the Emperor himself, he assured the Governor that it was not in his power to part with the yacht except at the capital. Finding that no arguments were of any avail to divert Lord Elgin from this determination, the Vice-Governor gave up the matter as hopeless, and after discoursing with considerable intelligence upon the recent Treaty with China and other topics of interest, he took his leave.

As Lord Elgin had not yet seen much of the town, I accompanied him on shore on another tour of exploration. In the course of our walk we came to a large enclosure, and on entering it found fifteen or twenty men on horseback, galloping and curveting about a considerable area, apparently used as a riding-school. This we understood was the constant after-

noon amusement of the "young bloods" of Nagasaki. They were all men of fortune and family, princes and nobles of the land, and this was their Rotten Row. They rode fiery little steeds, averaging about fourteen hands in height, and took a delight in riding full gallop and pulling up short, after the favourite manner of Arabs. The saddles were constructed on the same principle as they are in China, but with less padding. The stirrup-leathers were short, and the stirrups like huge slippers made of lacquer. The bit was powerful, and the reins were of muslin, but strong notwithstanding. The most remarkable feature in the costume of the riders was their hats: these were like shields, almost perfectly flat, made of lacquer, and fastened on the head by a variety of lashings. Two strings crossed each other at the back of the head, two crossed under the nose, and two more under the chin. It is as much trouble to tie on a Japanese hat as to put on a pair of skates; and when it is done, the face looks all laced over, as if there was something serious the matter with it. Still it was wonderful how effectual the lashing was, and how firmly the flat roof, or rather "tile," seemed fixed on their heads.

When we appeared, two or three good-looking young men pulled up near us, jumped off their horses, and most good-naturedly pressed them upon us. I took a short uncomfortable gallop upon one with a propensity to kick, and was glad soon to relinquish him to his smiling owner. We were much struck by the gentlemanlike and unconstrained bearing of these

young men, who evidently wished to show us all the civility in their power.

Before leaving Nagasaki we wished to extend our wanderings beyond the immediate limits of the streets. The city itself, like a lover at the feet of his mistress, nestles at the base of wooded hills of exquisite form, as though it did not venture to profane with its coarse touch those lovely slopes which are dedicated to the worship of Buddh and the Cytherean goddess, for these hill-sides are dotted with the most enchanting sites, and every one of them is occupied with a temple or a tea-house.

In Japan, religion is not used as in some countries to conceal immorality, but rather to give it countenance and support, so that practically there is very little difference here between a temple and a tea-house. Both are situated in grounds beautifully laid out. In landscape-gardening the Japanese excel every other nation in the world. Both are resorted to as agreeable retreats from the turmoil and bustle of the city. The most delightful arbours, the choicest dishes, and the softest music, are provided equally at one and the other.

It is estimated that there are sixty-two temples (large and small) and seven hundred and fifty tea-houses on the hills round Nagasaki, all offering to the Japanese in search of repose delicious tea and extensive panoramic views. It is worth while climbing up to some of them, if only to enjoy the

latter. Old moss-grown steps ascend the steep hill-side, and you pass through venerable gateways and up more massive flights to a fairy-like wooden structure perched on a projecting point, and backed by terraced gardens and cool shady groves that lead to grottoes, where sparkling water gushes from the hill-side. The building seems constructed with a view to the prospect it commands. The bare, softly matted rooms are surrounded with deep verandahs, and from every angle a fresh scene of beauty meets the eye. Behind us are wooded dells and more temples and tea-houses. At our feet the city is mapped out, and we can inspect the back premises of the houses of families, who are all at this hour engaged in domestic ablutions. It is delightful to see papa, mamma, and all the children, splashing so harmoniously in the back garden. Beyond the town are more terraced hills, and the beautiful winding harbour losing itself in deep creeks and bays, to all appearance a placid lake, for the ocean is nowhere visible.

Meantime the dinner, which has been ordered, has arrived. Spread out upon the floor in lacquered bowls, it occupies the greater portion of the room. It has been quickly and deftly arranged by a train of neatly dressed maidens, who now seat themselves round it and invite us to partake. We have long since taken off our shoes, and now squat in a circle on the floor, and gaze with curiosity, not unmixed with alarm, at the display before us. There is raw fish thinly sliced, and salted ginger; there are prawns piled up with a

substance which in taste and appearance very much resembles toffy; there are pickled eggs and rock-leeches, and pieces of gristle belonging to animals unknown, to be eaten with soy; and yams and pears, and various sorts of fruits and vegetables prepared, some of them palatably enough; but still the experiment is hazardous, and we are relieved at the sight of a bowl of rice as a safe *piece de resistance.*

The ministering spirits seem to delight in pressing upon us the nastiest things, apparently for the amusement which our wry faces affords them. Presently another troop of damsels with lutes and tom-toms come tripping in; but they elicit from their musical instruments the most discordant sounds to our non-Japanese ears, so that we are glad to take refuge in the balcony, and having once more feasted our eyes upon the fading prospect, we descend from our airy position to the streets, now rapidly subsiding into that early evening stillness which gives evidence that the good folks of Nagasaki do not allow either business or pleasure to steal from them the best hours of the night.

We should have regretted that our stay at Nagasaki was to be so short, had we not had Yedo in prospect. We had scarcely anticipated, on our departure from Shanghai, so brilliant a programme as the one which was gradually unfolding itself. The arrival of the Admiral in the Calcutta set any doubt we had on the matter finally at rest. It had been his original intention to hand over the yacht himself.

This, however, was now impossible, as his presence was urgently required at Canton, where the state of affairs was far from satisfactory. Under these circumstances, it was arranged that Lord Elgin should proceed with the yacht to Yedo, as it was evidently desirable that no time should be lost in proceeding upon this mission. It was therefore impossible for us to attempt to go upon any of those expeditions into the country in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki, which Europeans have lately been allowed to make. I understood that the princes of the neighbouring territories of Fizen and Tsikuzen were both favourably disposed towards Europeans. Fizen is indeed one of the most productive provinces in the Empire, yielding a revenue to its prince amounting, it is said by Siebold, to £360,000 annually. Besides rice and various descriptions of gum, it produces tea, tobacco, and cotton, vegetable tallow, iron, sulphur, cinnabar, and marble.

There is a coal-mine at a place called Wuku Moto, in the interior, which some of the Dutch Mission have descended. They describe the mine as being well and judiciously worked, and the coal as bituminous in its nature, and made into coke for use.

Old Kæmpfer tells a story, by way of illustrating the volcanic nature of the country, of a coal-mine in the province, which, through the carelessness of the miners, took fire, and has been burning ever since. A very excellent description of porcelain clay is found here, and the European demand for egg-shell china,

which is sold in great quantities, is chiefly supplied by the provinces of Fizen and Satsuma. The prince of the former State is, so far as we could learn from our Dutch informants at Nagasaki, a man of tolerably advanced views; he does not seem, however, to have succeeded in thoroughly divesting himself of old prejudices. This was illustrated a short time prior to our visit by his refusal to allow the Dutch to enter his territory to put up a steam-engine which he himself had ordered out from Europe, to pump the water out of one of his coal-mines. It should be noticed as the most interesting feature connected with this province, that it is said to produce the most beautiful women in the Empire.

But the Prince of Satsuma was the great hero of the Dutch residents at Nagasaki, he having at different times invited them to visit him. This prince, who has died since our visit, is said to have been the most enlightened, as he was one of the most powerful, of the independent princes. In close alliance with the late Emperor, who had married his daughter, he possessed great influence at Yedo, where he owned no less than nine town-houses. His is one of the families from which, when a direct heir fails to the temporal throne, an heir-presumptive is selected. One of the ancestors of their great line was the conqueror of the Lew-chew Islands. The province of Satsuma contains vast quantities of sulphur, which may form an item in our trade with Japan. At its southern extremity is situated the island of Ivoga-

sima, or Sulphur Island, which is said to burn incessantly. The mines on this island yield the Prince of Satsuma an annual revenue of two hundred chests of silver. I was informed by Captain Katendyke, a Dutch gentleman at Nagasaki, that this prince had already established an electric telegraph, which was in successful operation between his palace and his capital city, Kagosima, a distance of about three miles. He has also extensive glass-factories and cannon foundries, in which eight hundred workmen are employed.

Under Captain Katendyke's direction, the Japanese were at that time carrying out some extensive public works in the harbour. These principally consisted of a machine-shop and foundry, with all the appurtenances necessary for the building and repairing of steamers, which the Emperor had recently determined on establishing at Nagasaki. For the last six months prior to our arrival, the Dutch engineers had been engaged collecting machinery; a large quantity had already arrived.

The spot selected for the erection of the various buildings is in a beautiful valley, sloping down to, and terminating at, the left bank of the harbour, entering from seaward opposite Nagasaki. We observed a boat-load of Dutch artificers and engineers cross to it daily, but had not time to inspect their progress ourselves. It was calculated that two years would elapse before the works could come into operation. A pier, several hundred feet in length, and

extending out sufficiently far to insure twenty feet at low water, was being built immediately in front, and as a part of the establishment. In the construction of this pier, the Japanese workmen, under Dutch direction, were making constant use of a diving-bell and Nasmyth's hammer.

Japanese are allowed to enter these works as apprentices, in order to perfect themselves in engineering and mechanics, and so strong are their acquisitive propensities, where knowledge is concerned, that several princes have sought and obtained permission from the Emperor to place themselves under instruction, and are to be seen daily at the works, busily engaged at the lathe, the vice, or the forge, as the case may require, while others may be found in the drafting-room, preparing the necessary drawings for the various departments. Besides this, there has been for some years a naval school. By accounts we have received from Nagasaki, dated April last, we learn that an Imperial decree has been received from Yedo, directing that the naval school be removed from Nagasaki to the capital, the Government believing that their officers have attained such proficiency in navigation as to enable them to dispense with further instruction in that department. This conclusion appears to have been arrived at from their screw steamer Yedo having lately made a successful passage from Nagasaki to Yedo in nine days, unaccompanied by any foreigner. The school of engineers, however, above alluded to, is still to be continued, as well as one of

medicine and surgery, which has been for some time in existence, and very well attended.

Upon levies raised by the princes of Fizen and Tsikuzen, would depend the defence of Nagasaki and the adjacent coast, in the event of a war between Japan and any foreign country. Every independent prince throughout the country is bound to contribute a certain quota of troops to assist those of the Imperial Government. So large a proportion of the male population is considered available for this purpose, that the standing army of Japan ranks probably among the largest in the world, though totally deficient in that training or scientific knowledge of the military art which would render it formidable to a civilised people.

The occupation of a soldier is held in high estimation in the country. They belong to the fourth social grade, and are called Samlai, holding their lands by a nominal tenure of their feudal superiors, in consideration of their military service. The Imperial troops, as distinguished from those of the feudal princes, have been estimated at 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse. I do not feel certain, however, that my authority for this is to be relied upon.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th August we weighed anchor, and steamed out of Nagasaki harbour, the Retribution, yacht, and Lee gunboat in company. Just as we did so, a salvo of guns announced a foreign sail in sight, and as we cleared the Iwo-Sima Islands, we discerned a large Dutch ship

beating bravely up from the southward. We little guessed that at that moment a storm was brewing, which should in a few hours strew the ribs of that goodly craft upon the rocks under our lee, and drive us for a shelter under the wild headland of Chichakoff. We went under easy sail, so as to get daylight for our passage through Van Diemen's Straits, and found ourselves next morning between two conical volcanic peaks, the apparent counterpart of each other, about 2500 feet in height, and situated some twenty miles apart. The wind now freshened to a gale, rocks and islands studded this little-known sea in every direction, and as the weather thickened, it became evident that we must seek some friendly harbour in which to ride out the violence of the gale.

It was an anxious moment as we felt our way under the bluff cliffs of Cape Chichakoff, sounding in vain, and poking our nose into unpleasant proximity to breakers. Beyond the storm-beaten Cape we need not hope for shelter. Our only chance was to push up the deep unsurveyed Bay of Kagosima, until we found a safe anchorage. Fortunately we had not far to go—a slight indenture in the coast, with a few fishing cottages on the sandy beach, and a boat or two hauled up on it, gave promise of an anchorage, which we found about a mile distant from the shore. It was an iron-bound coast, the steep grassy hills terminating in rocky bluffs, at the base of which the sea broke heavily. Here, however, as long as the wind continued in one direction, we

were secure, and accordingly, within a cable's length of us the Retribution and yacht were soon moored. Of the Lee, however, we had seen nothing since the previous evening, and were not a little anxious as to her fate. We almost regretted that fortune did not drive us up the Bay to Kagosima, the capital of Satsuma, where we should have had an opportunity of visiting the residence of the prince, and of inspecting the progress of those foreign arts and inventions which he has introduced, and which have already contributed so largely to the prosperity of the chief city of his province.

The whole of this section of the coast of Japan is eminently volcanic; peaked mountains were observable far inland, while, out to seaward, peaked islands gave evidence of their fiery origin. In the island of Kiusiu alone, at the southernmost point of which we were now at anchor, there are no less than five active volcanoes; of these one is in Satsuma, but the most celebrated is the Wunzen-take, or the "High Mountain of warm Springs," in Fizen. An account of one of its eruptions is contained in the Chinese Repository. In 1793 the summit of the mountain sank entirely down; torrents of boiling water issued from all parts of the deep cavity which was thus formed, and the vapour arose like thick smoke. In one of its eruptions it is recorded to have destroyed the ill-fated city of Sima Barra, when 35,000 persons are said to have perished. Old Father Froes, writing in 1586, tells a story of a

strong castle in the kingdom of Mino, built at the top of a hill, which, after several violent shocks, sank down and disappeared of a sudden—"the earth gaping that not the least footstep remained, a lake quickly filling the place where the foundations of the castle had been. Another accident of this kind occurred in the province of Tkeja. Very many gaps and openings were observed up and down the Empire, some of which were so wide and deep, that guns being fired into them, the balls could not be heard to reach the other end, and such a smoke and stench issued out of them, that people would not venture to travel that way." Kæmpfer describes a small island near Firando which has been burning and trembling for centuries; while many hot and sulphurous springs bubble up all over the Empire, and are much frequented for the healing qualities they are supposed to possess.

It is not to be wondered at, in such a country of fire and brimstone, that the inhabitants should speculate learnedly upon the infernal regions, and now and then choose some seething well or flaming mountain as the *descensus Averni*. They have, moreover, decided upon the various departments of punishment. To one spring, which is covered at the top with a white cream-like froth, are consigned pastry-cooks and confectioners who practised adulteration while in this life; while deceitful brewers pass a miserable existence in a spring as thick and muddy as the beer or sakee they sold their customers.

To ride at anchor on wild stormy nights off such

an "uncanny" coast, was like being condemned to sleep in a haunted room. We were a prey to vague imaginary terrors, and never knew whether, in some convulsion of nature, the waters might not suddenly recede, and leave us, as they did the Russian frigate Diana, stranded on the bottom.

We remained at anchor in this dismal spot for about thirty-six hours, during which time the gale blew with such violence as to render it impossible to attempt a landing. About midnight on the 7th, however, it shifted suddenly. Captain Osborn, anticipating a quick change, had hove the cable short, and we were under weigh in a few minutes with a blinding wind and sea in our teeth, and our bows under at every heave. The huge pointed rocks off Chichakoff loomed black and threatening in the thick darkness, and we could hear the waves roaring against them as we struggled past this point—the Retribution, with the yacht in tow, doing her work manfully, and her light, like an *ignis fatuus*, dancing on the waves close to our quarter. We did not know until we met her at Yedo, just a week afterwards, how nearly the Lee had left her bones to whiten on that inhospitable coast. Nailed to a lee shore for some hours, her life was despaired of by her gallant commander, Captain Grahame, whose skill and seamanship, ably seconded by Captain Colin Campbell, who was on board as a guest at the time, rescued her from her precarious predicament.

Though it blew very hard for the three follow-

ing days, the wind was fair, and we made rapid progress. On the morning of the 10th we saw on the distant horizon the lofty cone of Fusi-yama, a mountain of whose very existence I had heretofore been ignorant, and whose celebrity we did not even then suspect. At that great distance it was a striking object. Towering over all minor elevations, it reared its snow-streaked crest to a height of 12,000 feet above the sea, presenting in its form and outline very much the appearance of Mount Etna. According to Japanese accounts, it has not been active for upwards of a century. Altering our course for this landmark, so worthy the great city of Yedo, we made out shortly on our starboard beam the "Isles Brisées," and near them the active volcano of Vries, with a puff of smoke resting above it as though a shell had burst upon its apex.

Our immediate destination was Simoda, but its narrow entrance on that bay-indented coast was somewhat difficult to find. As we neared the shore we observed numerous craft dodging in and out of harbours, and playing at "hide-and-seek" round bold green headlands and behind rocky islets; and at last we opened the snug-looking bay of Simoda, and glided into its peaceful waters between shores heavily clothed with timber, and resplendent with brilliant foliage. Deep coves invited the tempest-tossed fisherman to calm security, the entrance guarded by rocks, the shores feathered to the water's edge, and the water itself clear as crystal, and alive with glancing fishes.

F.C.B. BEDWELL, DEL.

M. & N. HANHART, LITH.

SIMODA.

We only gazed wistfully into these tempting retreats, too small for anything but a fishing-boat, and steamed gently on into the tranquil harbour, in which two large rocks, rising from its centre, are a picturesque but most inconvenient feature. One of these, called Centre Island, is perforated with a cavern and crowned with trees. The water is deep all round it, and as long as the wind is not blowing from the south-east, is perfectly smooth.

To the unwary visitor the harbour seems the perfection of security, so snugly embayed; while above it the hills rise in tumbled masses, surrounding the little town, and giving birth to the river that winds its sluggish course through a valley that might be in fairyland, to the sea. With a sullen plunge the anchor falls into the water deep and blue within a few yards of the shore, and sends a throb of fresh excitement through our veins, as we gaze with ecstasy on the lovely scene around us, and prepare to explore its unknown charms.

CHAPTER IV.

RESIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN CONSUL—A HERMITAGE—VISIT TO THE AMERICAN CONSUL—HIS RECENT SUCCESS AT YEDO—BAZAAR AT SIMODA—TORTURING INDECISION—A JAPANESE GRAVEYARD—BUDDHIST TEMPLES—THE SINTOO RELIGION—HOUSEHOLD GODS—A JAPANESE TEMPLE—DOCTRINES OF THE SINTOOS—THEOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS—THE VALUE OF SINTOOISM—A VISIT FROM THE GOVERNOR—AN EXPENSIVE FORM OF POLITENESS—GENERAL APPEARANCE OF SIMODA—VOYAGE UP THE BAY OF YEDO—JAPANESE COTTAGES—KANAGAWA—APPROACH TO YEDO.

At the head of the Bay of Simoda, and about a mile distant from the town, is situated a pleasant grove of trees. Its mysterious shades are dedicated, doubtless, to religious purposes, and conceal in their solemn recesses some picturesque old temple, in which, for an untold number of years, shrivelled priests have performed their sacred functions. It is a spot eminently suggestive of repose and religious retirement; and we could scarcely believe our eyes when, on bringing our telescopes to bear, we distinguished, fluttering among the leaves of a sacred Bo tree, the well-known combination of red, white, and blue which forms the national flag of our Transatlantic cousins. Yet so it is: the stars and stripes wave proudly over the pre-

mises originally occupied by some recent incarnation of Buddh; and Mr Harris, the American Consul, has converted the shrine of that divinity into a four-poster. We learn all this from Mr Hewsken, Mr Harris's Secretary, who comes off to visit us before we have had time to land, and who brings Lord Elgin an offer of services on the part of the American Consul.

I landed with Lord Elgin to pay Mr Harris a visit. The external aspect of his abode, as seen from the ship, did not belie its romantic character upon a closer acquaintance. Had one wished to retire altogether from the cares and anxieties of this troublesome world, it would be difficult to conceive a retreat more perfectly adapted for the purpose. When, however, entire and total seclusion is the result rather of necessity than choice, it is small consolation to feel that you are imprisoned in a corner admirably suited to a recluse. Often, in the course of his wanderings, the traveller is struck with the charms of some silent nook in this bustling universe. His first impression is, "What a delightful spot for a hermit!" —his next, "How I should pity the poor wretch!" For disciples of Zimmerman, notwithstanding, or lovers in a Petrarchian state, Japan offers greater attractions, probably, than any other country in the globe. But neither Mr Harris nor Mr Hewsken seemed altogether to appreciate them. A well-stored library, and a few rooms comfortably fitted up, gave an agreeable air of civilisation to the establishment; but what can compensate for two years of almost entire isolation and

banishment from communion with one's fellow-men? Except upon the rare occasions of Simoda being visited by some foreign vessel, these two gentlemen had not seen a creature with whom they could exchange an idea. They had been for eighteen months without receiving a letter or a newspaper, and two years without tasting mutton—sheep being an animal unknown in Japan. Still this exile had not the effect of disgusting them with the country of their banishment. Mr Harris spoke in terms even more eulogistic than those universally employed by the Dutch, of the Japanese people. His residence among them, under circumstances which compelled him to form intimate relations with them—for they were his only companions—only served to increase his high opinion of their amiable qualities and charming natural dispositions. He told us numerous anecdotes illustrative of this, more especially of the extraordinary attention shown him by the Emperor and Empress on the occasion of a serious illness which he had suffered. The Emperor insisted on sending his own medical man to attend upon him; while her Majesty delighted in providing him with culinary delicacies, prepared by herself, and suited to his state of health.

Mr Harris had only recently returned from Yedo, where he had just succeeded in negotiating a more favourable treaty with the Japanese Government than had been made since the days of Captain Saris. He had passed some months in that city, during

which time both he and Mr Donker Curtius had been engaged in fruitless efforts to induce the Government to accede to their terms. In 1855, the latter gentleman had concluded a mercantile arrangement, by which certain concessions were allowed to foreigners; but the cumbersome machinery of the Geldkammer was still retained, and the monopoly of the trade was reserved to the Japanese Government, under conditions which rendered the concessions worthless to nations engaged in commerce upon enlightened principles. Mr Harris, however, was determined to make a treaty worthy the progressive people whom he represented; and Mr Donker Curtius, finding him so engaged, repaired to Yedo, determined if possible not to be outdone. It so happened that his precautions were unavailing.

Finding the Japanese cabinet inexorable, both gentlemen left in despair, — Mr Donker Curtius upon a long overland journey of two months to Nagasaki, Mr Harris to return to Simoda. He had scarcely reached it, however, before the Powhattan arrived with intelligence of the Treaty of Tientsin. Mr Harris then lost not a moment in himself carrying the news of this to the capital; and while Mr Donker Curtius was journeying laboriously to Nagasaki, ignorant of the great events which had taken place, his rival had signed his treaty, and was back again at Simoda reposing on his laurels.

We walked along the edge of the bay from Mr Harris's temple-abode to the town. Simoda is a

mean place compared with Nagasaki; and it is difficult to conceive why Commodore Perry should have fixed upon it as a port. Even in those days it was little more than a fishing village, and since then it has been visited by an earthquake, from the effects of which neither town nor harbour has yet recovered. Always exposed, even where the anchorage was tolerable, there is now no holding-ground in the event of a storm, so completely did that terrible convulsion of nature change the surface of the bottom.

The town, which is situated at the debouching of the small river into the sea, is composed of a few mean streets, running at right angles to each other, and contains, probably, from three to four thousand inhabitants. At one corner of it is a bazaar established for the benefit of foreigners, containing lacquer of a superior description to that exhibited at Nagasaki, and sundry articles of native manufacture I had observed before. Among others I bought some waterproof greatcoats for eighteenpence a-piece, made of wax paper, and as completely effectual in a storm of rain as the best macintosh that ever was manufactured. They are very light and portable, the only drawback being a liability to tear; but then they are half the price of a pair of white kid gloves.

These bazaars are the most tantalising of resorts. There is so much displayed, and it is all so beautiful and new that one walks through avenues of brilliant novelties in a stupefied condition of mind, and with a strong sensation of overwhelming responsibility. If

anybody would only come and tell one which to choose, and what was most likely to be admired at home. Alas! everybody else is buying furiously; nobody seems to have a doubt upon the subject; all the best things are being bought up under your nose, and there you stand bewildered and dismayed; so you finally determine to buy recklessly and indiscriminately, until your pocket is emptied of its contents. The process is simple. As soon as the article is determined upon, the Japanese vendor hands you a slip of paper and a fine hair-brush dipped in ink. On this you write your name and the price, after which you convey the simplest expression of which your name will admit, to the Japanese, who writes in his own language the nearest approximation which his ear retains of the uncouth sound. At the end of the day you proceed to a sort of bureau, where all the purchases are piled up, duly labelled, and their prices attached. These are added up by the officials employed, and the foreign coin which is tendered taken by weight. There is no haggling in the first instance, or disputes afterwards; everything is managed with perfect order and system.

Another inconvenience attending these bazaars, is the waste of time which they involve. One is a martyr to one's conscience all the while. What business have you to stand and stare at lacquer all day, when the town and its neighbourhood are to be explored, and numerous interesting and important facts are to be observed and noted? It is less expensive

and more instructive to turn one's back upon this scene of extravagance, and start off in search of the novel and the picturesque. We have not far to go. Just behind the bazaar rises a densely-wooded hill, and of course it is adorned with temples and shrines, which we reach by clambering up long flights of steps, and find little figures standing behind strips of coloured paper, and inscriptions, and the ashes of a sacred fire. We look down over the town and bay, and then follow a romantic path which winds through the damp impenetrable shade formed by dense foliage, and suddenly opens upon an extensive graveyard, where quaintly-carved tombstones are planted thick under the tall trees. The graves, of which these monuments indicate the position, are said to be of circular form, plastered with lime to prevent the infiltration of water. According to old Arnoldus Montanus, the women are placed in these in a sitting posture, with their hands separated, and their faces turned as though looking over the shoulder; the men are seated in a devotional attitude, with their hands clasped. The tombstones are called Sisek, and some of them are elaborately carved, and adorned with representations of warriors fighting, or, in the case of women's graves, with drawings of flowers. The inscriptions are carved in the stone, and left in that condition until the owner of the grave becomes its occupant, when they are gilt.

Altogether, a Japanese graveyard, abundantly supplied with tall sculptured monumental stones,

many of them hoary and moss-grown, embowered amid dense foliage, and overshadowed by the twisted gables of some sacred edifice, is an object of interest and tranquil beauty, calculated to produce in the mind of the stranger from the Western world a strong impression in favour of a people, whose taste and sentiments upon so solemn a subject seem to be in accordance with his own.

We passed from the graveyard into the temple. The interior was a spacious hall, matted and hung with large lanterns; a centre space, enclosing sacred tapers, and images of different sizes, was railed off, as is usual in Buddhist temples. To those not deeply versed in the mysteries of the religion, neither the principal idol, nor the general aspect of the building, seemed to differ very much from temples dedicated elsewhere to the same worship; but inasmuch as there are thirty-five sects in Japan, or, at any rate, were in the days of Nobanunga, there was doubtless much that was not orthodox in the temple in question. The priest, a venerable old man in a long grey robe, was remarkably civil to us; but as it was impossible to exchange an idea with him, we contented ourselves by looking as pleased and interested as we could.

The numerous temples in the neighbourhood of Simoda form the most attractive feature in its environs. They are more easily approached than those at Nagasaki: there is less climbing, and the walks are prettier. Under almost every hill is hidden a

yasiro or miya: the entrance gateway is probably composed of two monoliths, and resting upon them a long block of stone, upturned at the ends, and perhaps curved in the centre; from this a broad paved avenue leads to a flight of steps, at the top of which sits enshrined a many-armed divinity. Dense groves of bamboos and other trees offer a delicious and refreshing shade to the pedestrian, who can lounge upon the hottest day along shady walks from one temple to another, and smoke innumerable cigars on the steps of them. Most of these temples bore a strong resemblance to each other; one, however, which we visited, differed entirely from the rest, and this we discovered to be Sintoo.

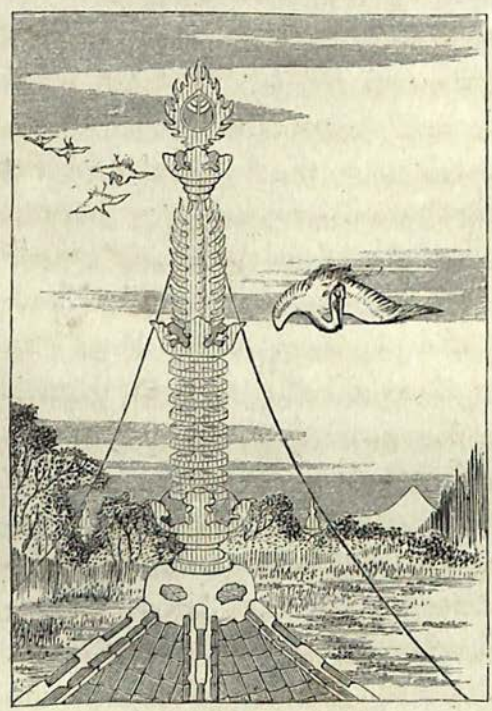
A Japanese on a visit to this country, who should endeavour to impart to his friends in Japan some idea of the varied shades of religious opinion which obtain in it, would find but little light thrown on the subject by the comparison and inspection of any number of cathedrals, churches, or chapels; and if his time was limited, and his interpreter imperfect and not versed in theology, his account of the religious denominations of the British Empire would be somewhat confused. So, of our own knowledge, we can say but little of the religions of Japan; that one, however, which is entitled to be called the national religion, and which dates from the earliest period, is the religion of Sinsyn, or "Faith of the Gods." The votaries are called Sintoos, and its temporal head is the Mikado or Spiritual Emperor. The divinity who is the

chief object of adoration is the goddess Ten-sio-dai-zin, or patron deity of Japan. She was the daughter of the first god who ever married, and who created the world, which then consisted of Japan: prior to him there extends a mythological history scarcely necessary to follow. This goddess with the long name was succeeded by four terrestrial gods, the last of whom married a mortal wife, and left a mortal son upon earth, the immediate predecessor of the Mikados.

This Mikado, besides being the Spiritual Emperor of Japan, is a species of intercessory mediator between his subjects in this world and the spirits and canonised beings of the next. In many respects his functions seem very similar to those of the Pope. In him rests the power of canonisation, a much-coveted honour among the kamis and great men of the Empire. When canonised, they retain the name of kami in the next world, and are chiefly useful in interceding with the goddess Ten-sio-dai-zin, who cannot be approached directly; so every Sintoo Japanese has his patron kami, who are enshrined in his house, and constitute his Lares and Penates. The kamis are divided into superior and inferior, 492 being born gods, and 2640 being deified or canonised men.

The temple we visited contained numbers of these little shrines, with representations of kami, together with models of ships and other curiosities called Jemma, which, however, are only placed there as donations by grateful worshippers, to furnish amuse-

ment to persons frequenting the temple. The building itself was devoid of all architectural pretension, and of a slate colour, the interior remarkable for its simplicity as compared with Buddhist temples. Its chief external peculiarity consisted in a curious ornamented spire, of which the annexed Japanese drawing will convey a better idea than any description. The popular mountain of Fusi-yama appears in the background covered with snow. The distinguishing feature of Sintoo temples is a looking-glass, as emblematic of the soul's purity. On the right-hand side, on entering, was a sort of font containing water, and opposite to it a large bell. An oblong open box, laced across the top with wire, is a conspicuous object to remind the worshippers of their duties as almsgivers. The form of worship is very simple. Church-goers commence



Spire of a Japanese Temple (from a native drawing.)

by washing themselves in the font; they then pray opposite the looking-glass, asking for their necessities as we do; then chink a few coppers into the wire-covered box, strike the bell thrice as a signal that it is all over, and retire. Some with a metaphysical turn of mind suppose that God sees into their hearts as plainly as they do into the looking-glass, and therefore do not pray at all.

I observed many strips of white paper, called by Siebold "Gohei," and on which Japanese characters were inscribed. Kæmpfer states that the Sintoo believes in Elysian or sub-celestial fields as the abode of disembodied spirits, but that he is a universalist in the matter of future punishment, and can form no idea of a devil except as represented by a fox. Siebold, however, says that "the Sintooist has a vague notion of the soul's immortality—of an eternal state of future happiness and misery, as the reward respectively of virtue or vice—of separate places whither the soul goes after death. Heavenly judges call each to account: to the good is allotted Paradise, and they enter the realm of the kami; the wicked are condemned, and thrust into hell." Certainly the famous dispute about the colour of the devil would go to show that they believe in one, and disprove Kæmpfer's assertion. The following is a translation of a text from one of their sacred books given by that author: —"In the beginning of the opening of all things, a chaos floated, as fishes swim in the water for plea-

sure: out of this chaos arose a thing like a prickle, movable and transformable. This thing became a soul or spirit, and this spirit is called Kunitoko Datsuo Mikotto."

The numerous sects which exist in Japan seem to be modifications, in divers degrees, of Buddhism and Sintooism. Buddhism was not introduced in Japan until the year A.D. 552, and, after some struggle to obtain a footing, finally took root about the end of the century, and became gradually infused into the religion of the country. After all, it differed in no great degree from the existing worship. They both inculcated a high moral standard: purity of heart and life was the great feature of Sintooism; purity of body was enforced by ceremonial ordinances, almost Levitical in their character. Certainly in that vague condition of future bliss, which the Buddhist looks forward to, in Nirvana, he does not approximate to the Sintoo notion of Paradise; but then, supposing Siebold to be correct, he escapes the infernal regions of the latter by his doctrine of Metempsychosis. On the other hand, Sintoo priests are a more favoured race than those of Buddha; for marriage is permitted them, the Mikado setting the example. This spiritual functionary dwells theoretically in heaven, but he is doubtless occasionally reminded of his propinquity to this vale of tears by some of the twelve wives to which by law he is entitled.

Buddhist priests invariably shave the head, which they leave uncovered. The Sintoo priesthood allow their hair to grow, and wear a remarkable head-dress, resembling an inverted boat lacquered, and often of a most brilliant colour.

In addition to the religions of Sinsyn and Buddha, with their various shades of intermixture, is the philosophic creed of Sutoo, or "the Way of Life," apparently a modification of Confucianism, which is here, as in China, sufficiently "broad" and elastic to consist with any form of superstition. Properly speaking, it recognises no gods, temples, or places of worship; acknowledges a universal pervading spirit; denies any future state of rewards and punishments, holding that happiness consists in a righteous life, and that, when the five cardinal virtues are practised, the man is perfect. These are,—to live virtuously, to do right, to be courteous, to govern wisely, and to obey the conscience.

We may assume that in Japan, as in all countries where Buddhism exists, those elevated and somewhat mystic tenets, which are developed in its sacred books, commend themselves to the understandings of the more enlightened and refined classes of society; while the humbler portion of the population take refuge in the idolatry of that gross material form which can alone satisfy their coarse, sensuous requirements. It seems a question whether the vulgar mind is really the crucible in which to test the power and

value of a theology; how often does it degrade the noblest faith to its own level, and the hasty observer judges the religion by its coarsest development! If, however, we are to consider the character of the Japanese with reference to their religious training alone, Buddhism is certainly not the religion which has exercised the most favourable influence upon their minds and dispositions. Buddhism is said to be the religion of three hundred and fifteen millions of the human race, who are all morally and intellectually inferior to the Japanese. If, therefore, we ignore all physical causes, and those theories by which it has recently been sought to account for civilisation and social progress, and reduce it to a question of religion alone, we are forced to admit that the Sintoo religion has produced results which entitle it to a very high rank among the religions of the world.

Having arrived at which conclusion, we descend from the steps of the temple of Sinsyn, upon which we have seated ourselves while speculating upon the value of the creed; and the sun being by this time concealed behind the peaked hills of the valley, we can stroll along the rice-fields by the river's brink, and enjoy the balmy air of evening, or stop in answer to an invitation, and indulge in delicious tea without paying for it. In its present unsophisticated state, Japan is a cheap as well as a pleasant residence, foreign coin being forbidden, and the in-

habitants being either very conscientious, or very much afraid of being reported to Government. We smoke pipes, drink tea in delightful summer-houses, cross ferries, and in various manners incur pecuniary liabilities, which we have no means of liquidating, for our money is resolutely declined, and with an air of politeness which quite makes us regret that we ever made the tender; so we are compelled to reconcile ourselves to our fate, and by an interchange of tobacco endeavour to convey a reciprocity of cordial sentiments.

The day following our arrival at Simoda, Lord Elgin received a visit from the Governor. He had learnt that we proposed going up the Bay of Yedo, and his object now was to exert all his powers of persuasion to induce Lord Elgin to forego this intention. He brought a large suite on board with him, all of whom seemed to appreciate an English luncheon. I was rather startled to hear one of them refuse Curaçoa, and ask for Maraschino instead. The Governor himself was a man of a most jovial temperament. He indulged in constant chuckles, and rather reminded one of Mr Weller, senior. He seemed to consider everything a capital joke—even Lord Elgin's positive refusal to comply with his request to hand over the yacht at Simoda and remain at that place. He used every possible argument to carry his point, but without avail. He said he dreaded the consequences to himself, and chuckled; still more did he dread the

consequences to us, and chuckled again; and when at last he found that we were neither to be frightened or cajoled, he seemed perfectly contented, and proceeded to wrap up in square pieces of paper any articles of food which particularly struck his fancy, which he carried in the folds of his shirt, saying, as he did so, that he had a number of children at home of an age to appreciate the culinary curiosities of foreign parts. Many of his suite seemed to have families also, for they followed his example. I rather think one attempted to carry away some strawberry jam in his bosom, or in the sleeve of his coat, which was made full and baggy for the purpose. These square pieces of paper are not used exclusively for wrapping up food in; upon them inquisitive Japanese take notes, and in them they blow their noses. It is a mark of politeness to carry away a quantity of food from a dinner-table; so much so, that a very civil guest sometimes brings a servant and basket to carry away those remnants which a good English housekeeper would appropriate to luncheon next day. This is a somewhat expensive mode of showing approval of one's friend's dinner, but not so disagreeable as the gradations in which a man of good-breeding indulges in with the same object.

The Governor told us that he was allowed to have his wife with him at Simoda, but this, as we understood, was only because his rank was not sufficiently high to bring him within the category of

those obliged to leave their wives at Yedo. There are two Governors of Simoda, who relieve each other every six months, the object being that each should serve as a check upon his colleague. The Governor having now apparently satisfied his conscience, prepared to take leave. He subsequently preferred a request in writing that two Japanese officials should be allowed a passage in the Furious up the harbour. This, however, was declined, upon the plea that it was contrary to the rules of the service to take on board passengers.

Under the new Treaty, Kanagawa is substituted for Simoda, which ceases to be an open port. It is indeed valueless as such: the harbour is unsafe, the population is small and of the poorest description, consisting chiefly of fishermen. The means of communication with the interior are bad, as the town is situated on a peninsula, to pass from which into the country it is necessary to cross a mountain-range about six thousand feet in height.

The houses are all built of wood, many of them only of one story. The shops are poor and thinly supplied. Here, as at Nagasaki, the poorer classes are but lightly clad, the men having little on besides a loin-cloth, and the women being generally uncovered above the waist. They manifested but little curiosity at us as we strolled about the streets, but I was amused to observe a crowd collected round a dog belonging to one of our party, of the Shantung

terrier breed, and which, though a purely Chinese dog, is scarcely to be distinguished from a Skye terrier. This long-haired specimen of the canine race created immense excitement and interest, both among Japanese dogs and men, as he trotted complacently along the streets of Simoda.

We experienced great civility and kindness from Mr Harris during our short stay at Simoda, but were more especially indebted to him for the liberality with which he supplied a most important deficiency, in placing at Lord Elgin's disposal the services of his excellent Dutch interpreter, Mr Hewsken. This gentleman proved, during our stay at Yedo, a very obliging and agreeable companion, as well as a most able assistant. Having spent two years in the country, he had picked up a good deal of the language, and I am indebted to him for much interesting information. In all official transactions a Japanese interpreter was employed to interpret from Dutch into Japanese.

We got under weigh from Simoda at daylight on the morning of the 12th August, and with a fair wind proceeded rapidly up the Bay, passing on our left a mountain-range about 6000 feet in height. The shores now begin to close in, and at the Straits of Uraga, which we reached in about five hours from Simoda, they are not above ten miles apart. At this point the scenery was very pretty; wooded hills rise from the water's edge, sloping gently back, here and

there deeply furrowed with a charming glen, in which cottages with steep-thatched roofs and overhanging eaves are snugly ensconced. The western shore resembles some parts of the coast of the Isle of Wight. The town of Uraga itself is the most important-looking place on the coast. It is considered a sort of barrier to Yedo, and even country craft should stop here to give an account of themselves. Two boat-loads of two-sworded officials pushed off in haste as we steamed up, and by gesticulations and gestures of entreaty, invited us to stop; but we passed on, utterly indifferent to their signals; and as we left them far behind, we could still discern them tugging hopelessly after us, in the vain attempt to overtake a steamer of 400 horse-power going at full speed.

A Japanese Village (from a native drawing.)

We could scarcely believe our eyes, when, at anchor, the same night, we observed these identical boats

pull alongside, they having never relinquished the pursuit.

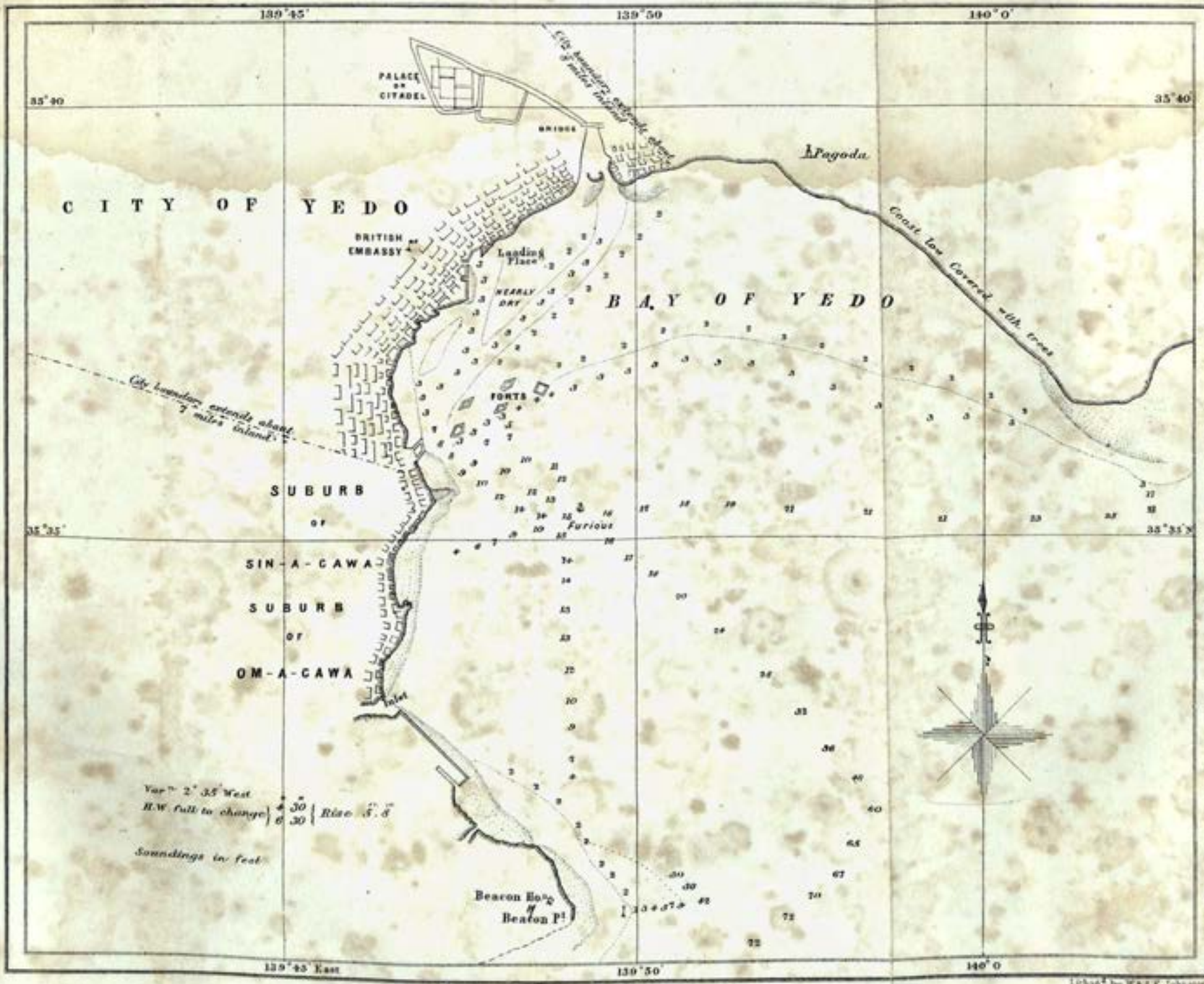
Meantime we steamed steadily on through waters traversed for the first time by Commodore Perry's squadron a few years ago, and consequently but little surveyed. Passing the Perry and Webster islands, prettily wooded, and of a picturesque form, we came within sight of the Russian squadron, anchored at Kanagawa, at about mid-day. This place is situated at a distance of eighteen miles from Yedo. It affords good anchorage about half a mile from the shore; it is a town of considerable importance, and has been selected as one of the new ports. Count Poutiatine, who had proceeded to Japan direct from the Gulf of Pechelee, had arrived here about a fortnight previously; and been engaged during that period in making arrangements for his proper reception at the capital. Lord Elgin, however, instead of stopping at Kanagawa, determined to adopt the unprecedented course of sailing straight up to the capital, believing that, if the achievement were feasible, it would not only save valuable time, but that the presence of our ships there would produce a most salutary effect upon the Government, and in all probability tend to facilitate our negotiations. It was eminently fortunate that on occasions of this sort he had in Captain Sherard Osborn a commander upon whose zeal and professional skill he could always place the most perfect reliance.

Our unexpected appearance must have somewhat astonished our Muscovite friends, more especially as we passed on at full speed up the bay, where no Western ship had ever before ventured. Up to this point, the western shore under which we had been coasting was uniformly high, and broken with projecting promontories; now, however, it sank to a level with the waters of the bay. The soundings in Perry's chart cease just before reaching Kawasaki Point—a long sandy spit which runs far out into the bay, and off which the Japanese have placed a beacon.

The water now became shallow, and the channel somewhat intricate. We were just doubting whether the undertaking was practicable, when we saw in the distance some large square-rigged ships, of a tonnage which satisfied us that their anchorage would do for us; but for a moment we felt bitterly disappointed at the discovery of European-built ships, betokening, as we supposed, the presence of some foreign flag more enterprising than our own. It was only when we approached nearer that we perceived that these western-looking craft were in reality Japanese, and observed the white flag with the red ball floating from the peak of a dapper little steamer, and marking it "Imperial."

Gradually behind these vessels the island forts, and then the houses of the city of Yedo, rose into view. Gently, with two leads going, we crept up to the long-desired haven, closely followed by the Retribu-

tion and yacht; and by two o'clock the same afternoon, after a most prosperous passage from Simoda, we anchored not far from the Japanese fleet, at a distance of about three miles from the shore, and five from the capital of the empire.



139°45'
139°50
140°0'
35°40
35°35'
PALACE OR CITADEL
BRIDGE
Pagoda
CITY OF YEDO
BRITISH EMBASSY
Landing Place
NEARLY DRY
BAY OF YEDO
Coast low Covered with trees
FORTS
City boundary extends about 7 miles inland
SUBURB OF SIN-A-CAWA
SUBURB OF OM-A-CAWA
Furious
Inlet
Var^n 2° 35' West
H.W. full to change 4 30 / 6 30 Rise 5.8
Soundings in feet
Beacon Ho^n
Beacon P^t
139°45' East
Lithog^d by W&A K Johnston

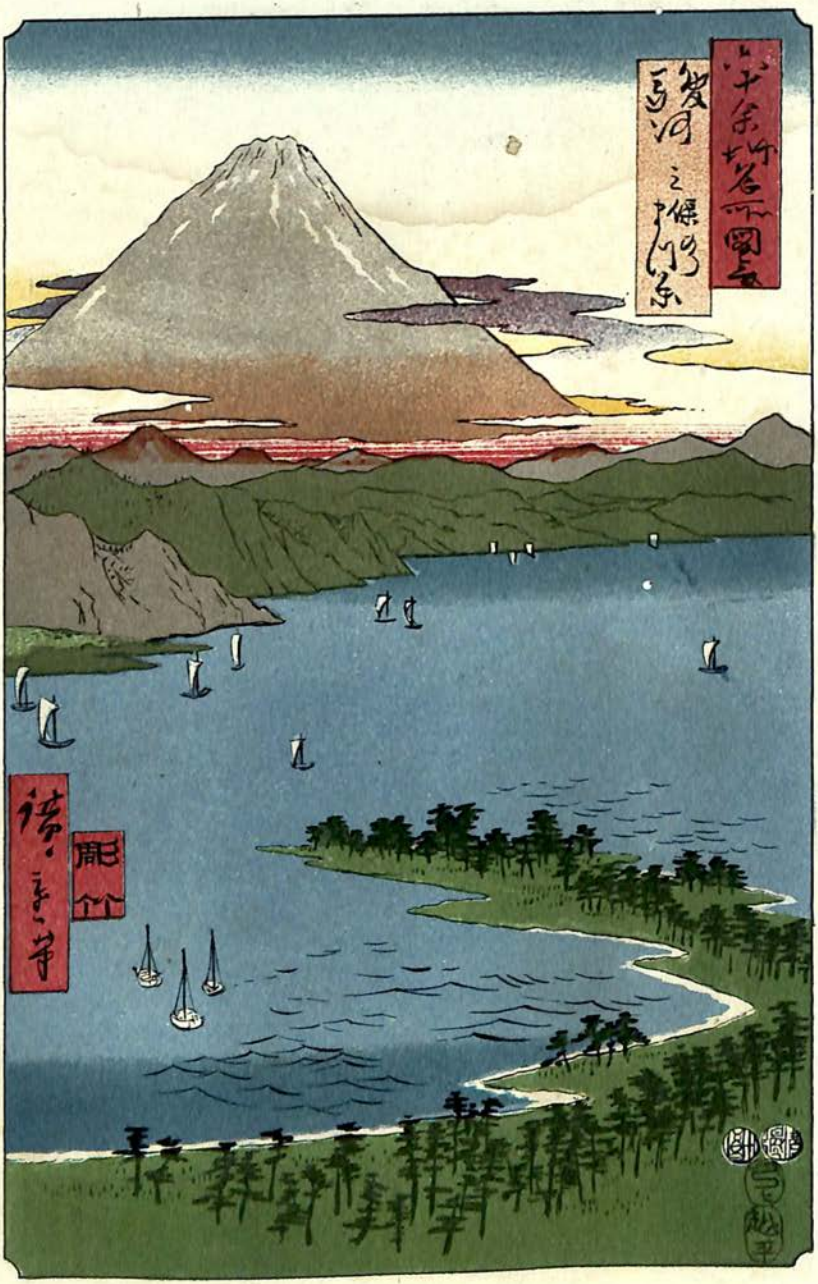
CHAPTER V.

OFFICIAL VISITORS—WE SHIFT OUR ANCHORAGE—A VISIT FROM PRINCES—OBJECT OF THE INTERVIEW—A JAPANESE MAN-OF-WAR—VISIT TO THE ADMIRAL—JAPANESE JUNKS—IMPERIAL UNIFORM—INQUISITIVE WATER-PARTIES—MORIYAMA—VISIT OF THE COMMISSIONERS—LANDING-PARTIES—THE LANDING-PLACE—A JAPANESE SADDLE—THE PROCESSION THROUGH YEDO—EXCITED CROWDS—THE FAIR SEX—DISFIGUREMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN—JAPANESE PLEASURE-PARTIES—ARRIVAL AT OUR FŪTURE RESIDENCE.

WE had not been long at anchor before we were boarded by those ever-vigilant and active two-sworded gentry, who seem to swarm upon the shores of Japan, and who pounce upon the stranger as if he was their peculiar property. They always come tumbling up the ladder full of smiles and impetuosity, not the least afraid of boarding the foreign ship; then they bow and look amiable, and talk with excessive volubility in Dutch and Japanese, jerking out now and then a word of English. They want to know who we are, how many guns we mount, how many men there are on board, what our object is in coming, whether more ships are following. Suddenly they recognise Mr Hewsken; he is an old friend, and there is Mr Harris's palanquin (he had kindly lent it

to Lord Elgin). Our visitors are much puzzled. It is evident Mr Harris is secreted somewhere on board, or else how comes it that here are both his secretary and his palanquin? But then Mr Harris sails under the "stars and stripes," and the Japanese know that the flag waving above them is the British ensign. They bombard Mr Hewsken with questions, which they do not give him time to answer, and at all events are perfectly clear upon one point,—whether Mr Harris is on board or not, we must instantly return to Kanagawa. We explain that the British Minister is on board, though not visible to their vulgar gaze, and that we cannot venture to broach such a proposition to him. Meantime more official boats arrive, and we learn that Count Poutiatine has that day arrived from Kanagawa, and made his official entry by land into Yedo, where he has taken up his residence. It was evident that none of our visitors were men of rank; they came rather with the view of collecting information than as official messengers; but the burden of the song always was, "Go back to Kanagawa." Lord Elgin sent a letter on shore the same afternoon to the Prime Minister, stating that he had come to make a treaty, and to present the yacht to the Emperor, and requesting that he might be furnished with a suitable residence on shore.

On the following morning, finding by our boats that we could get nearer the shore, we ran on into three-fathom water, and anchored about a mile and a half from it, and in the midst of the Japanese fleet. This con-



A VIEW OF FUSY-YAMA.
from a Japanese Drawing.

sisted of two large square-rigged ships, a pretty little paddle-wheel steamer, which had been purchased from the Dutch Government, and a three-masted schooner. From our present anchorage we could follow the houses of the city lining the shores of the bay from the suburb of Sinagawa off which we were lying, to a long bridge just visible in the extreme distance. This view was intercepted by five island forts, which rose from the shallow waters of the bay about halfway between us and the centre of the city. Low hills prettily wooded, and crowned with temples, formed a background to Sinagawa and the western portion of the city, while a wooded eminence in the centre, gleaming here and there with a patch of white wall, and distinguished by the roofs of a pagoda, marked the citadel or residence of the Tycoon.

Towering over all in the western distance, but too often concealed by clouds, the majestic Fusi-yama reared its conical summit. The princes came off to luncheon about mid-day, bringing with them an answer to the letter of yesterday. These dignitaries are only Saimios, or titular princes, and are of an inferior rank to the Daimios, or hereditary princes. One of them, Sinanono-kami, was the alternate Governor of Simoda, the colleague of our jovial friend of yesterday. They were plainly dressed, and accompanied by the usual retinue, the use of which we now began to perceive. Most of them were engaged during the whole period of their interview with Lord Elgin in reporting in note-books precisely every word that

passed. I even caught one fellow, as I glanced over his shoulder, making a sketch of his Excellency.

When no conversation was actually taking place, they noted down observations of surrounding objects. Most inquisitive were they in their inquiries about everything, and ready in booking the answer. The people who had no note-books were spies, whose business it was to see whether those who had, did their duty properly; also to keep an eye on the princes, and report any indiscretion of which they might be guilty. So when everybody was watching everybody else, it was only natural that the Japanese should wonder who was watching us. They solved this difficulty in an amusing way. Finding that there was only one British Minister on board, but observing also that his letter had been signed Elgin and Kincardine, they gave us to understand, in the least offensive way possible, that Kincardine, who was nowhere visible, they supposed to be engaged in keeping his eye on Elgin. It was some time before we made them understand how two titles could be vested in one and the same person.

Meantime they did not forget the main object of their visit: this was to endeavour to persuade Lord Elgin to return to Kanagawa, at which point, they assured us, arrangements could much more easily be made for his reception at Yedo. This was by no means evident. Lord Elgin objected that going eighteen miles farther could not facilitate his coming to the capital; then they said that the anchorage was

very dangerous. They were recommended in that case to remove their own fleet to a place of greater safety. Further, they urged it would be impossible to send supplies to the ship, but they were assured that we were quite independent, having a sufficient stock of supplies on board. In fact, each prince severally made a remonstrance, doubtless for the benefit of his spy, and when they had fulfilled this duty, they received with smiles Lord Elgin's assurance that any movement from his present anchorage was impossible until he had fulfilled the object of his visit, and handed over the yacht to the Imperial Government. This decision, they said, they would report to their superiors, and for the remainder of their visit they devoted themselves to *paté de fois gras* and champagne. They ultimately departed, promising to return with an answer on the morrow. The next day, however, was so wet that we could hardly blame them for not braving the elements ; and to relieve the monotony, a party of us went on a voyage of exploration to the largest ship in the fleet, and then on to the forts.

Both the square-rigged ships looked like those cumbrous arks in which our ancestors used to circumnavigate the globe, and were, in fact, built upon old Dutch models, although of recent construction. The one we boarded was painted a bright red ; her masts were of ponderous size, built and ribbed with iron hoops ; the rigging bleached white, and ragged from the action of the weather and the absence of tar. We ascended the heavy ladder to a large square hole,

which admitted us to the main deck. We were most civilly received by an individual who may be supposed to have been the officer of the watch, and shown over the ship. Two or three 32-pound Paixhan guns were lying about, but there was not a vestige of a carriage, or any bolts for side-tackles. The scantling was of enormous thickness, and the port-holes were closed with clumsily-built shutters. There was an appearance of comfort, nevertheless, about the main-deck generally, which was inhabited by the crew, whose mats were all neatly arranged round it. The lower deck was empty, with the exception of a few stores and water-casks.

Under a high poop astern was the captain's cabin. We entered it, and found two or three naval dignitaries squatted upon the floor drinking tea; one of these we afterwards discovered to be the Admiral-in-Chief of the Imperial navy. He was appointed one of the Commissioners to treat with Lord Elgin, and proved to be a most intelligent person. We had no idea that the plain-looking group before us contained so important a personage; and in answer to a polite invitation to join their party, we twisted our legs under us, received from them pipes containing homœopathic doses of tobacco in exchange for our cigars, and refreshed ourselves with some delicious tea. Unfortunately, we were compelled to confine our observations to smacking our lips and puffing out smoke, for we were without an interpreter. We did, indeed, ultimately, by the exercise of great intelligence on both sides, get

P.G.B. BEDWELL, DEL.

M. & N. HANHART, LITH.

YEDO FORTS.

so far as to learn the Japanese numerals up to ten, and teach them the English; but the intellectual effort was too great to be sustained; and we parted with feelings of mutual relief, and the warmest expressions of good-will, as conveyed in our mother tongue. The cabin in which we had been entertained was devoid of furniture, as rooms in Japan always are; but the mats were soft, and there was an air of comfort and cleanliness about the apartment. It was built apparently of fir-wood, the carpentering of perfect workmanship.

We now made for the left-hand point of the left-hand fort, taking advantage of the opportunity to sound as we sailed slowly along. We found the forts constructed of huge blocks of stone, surmounted by guns of large calibre, and staked round with piles. Considerable knowledge of fortification has been displayed both in their construction and situation. They extend in a parallel line with the coast for some distance. Between some of them the water is so shallow as not even to admit of the passage of boats; between the two westernmost, however, it is comparatively deep. We were in the deepest channel, to judge from the size of the native craft which chose it, and found at half flood eight feet of water at our furthest sounding. At this point numbers of junks were anchored, and some small schooners built from European models. The largest of these junks may have been of 150 tons burden, high-sterned, heavily-masted, quaint-looking craft: the masts are not composed of a single spar, but built and ribbed with iron, rising

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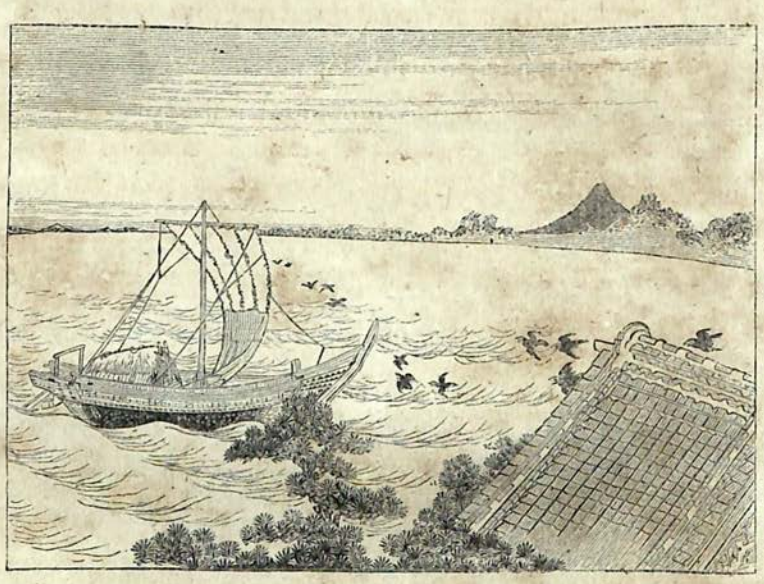
from the deck like some gigantic forest-tree to a height of forty or fifty feet: the top of the mast was slightly bent, and from it depended a vast expanse of a coarse cotton fabric, attached to a yard on the same scale as the mast, so massive, that to hoist it must be as laborious an operation as weighing anchor. The rudder projects far astern, and is moved by a huge tiller



A Junk in the Bay of Yedo (from a native drawing.

extending half the length of the craft. An extensive assortment of anchors garnish the bow, and on deck there is frequently a thatched shed for the crew. Altogether the rig is clumsy to the nautical eye; but we met several of their junks making good weather of it when it was blowing freshly. It is said, however, that a Government rule exists, compelling them to be

built on a principle which renders it dangerous for them to venture far from shore, so as to prevent their visiting foreign countries. The annexed Japanese drawing conveys a very good idea of a scene in the Bay of Yedo, with Fusi-yama in the distance.

On our return to the ship, we found a message had arrived, apologising for the non-appearance of the Commissioners, and enclosing a copy of the American Treaty. We were always able to recognise Government messengers from afar. Generally they came in a boat painted red, about the size of a pinnace, and rigged with two lug-sails. The crews were always in uniform; either in blue or black, with white stripes. Black and white are the Imperial colours, but the national flag is a red ball on a white ground. The Japanese seem to hold the sun in almost as great respect as the Parsees. Their patron divinity, Ten-sio-dai-zin, is the sun-goddess, and they have adopted the luminary as their national emblem.

While the costume of the Government boatmen was uniform and respectable, the same cannot be said of the crews of the numerous other boats which used constantly to surround us. A pocket-handkerchief would have supplied material for a full suit; but even then it must be torn in half, and while one piece crosses the loins, the other is drawn tightly over the nose. It is not, as may be supposed, from any feeling of modesty that this feature is concealed: the idea is, that it is sensitive to cold; but the general effect of a man with nothing on but two scanty strips of cotton

—one round the middle of his body, and the other round the middle of his face—is in the highest degree ludicrous.

In the afternoon, pleasure-parties from the shore used to come and inspect us; boat-loads of ladies, with a great deal of white powder on their cheeks, and lips painted a brilliant vermilion, gazed on us with the utmost interest and delight, making witty remarks at our expense, and then laughing immoderately. Some of the gentlemen ventured on board, and one of them mistook Lord Elgin's Chinese chair for a shrine, and being evidently of a tolerant and liberal spirit in religious matters, did us the honour of prostrating himself before what he supposed was one of our divinities; but his fair companions contented themselves with gyrating round us, and looking in at our port-holes with that curiosity which doubtless characterises the sex even here. We had not much opportunity of judging of the extent to which this propensity is indulged; but considering that the most inquisitive men in the world are certainly Japanese men, it is difficult to form a conception of what the women must be.

On the following day, five Commissioners came off to complete the arrangements for our taking up our residence on shore. In addition to the three whom we had already seen, was our naval friend of yesterday, Admiral Nangai Gembaño-kami, and a cheerful colleague, by name Higono-kami, who turned out the most agreeable and intelligent person I met in Japan.

These gentlemen were accompanied by an individual who played a very important part throughout the negotiations, and whose real value was indeed very little below his own very high estimate of it. He was the interpreter Moriyama, for some time resident at Nagasaki; he wrote and spoke Dutch with almost as much facility as Japanese, and was the means of communication between Mr Hewsken and the Commissioners.

Beneath a ludicrous affectation of manner Moriyama concealed an infinite amount of practical, shrewd, common sense. He was, in fact, a diplomat of the Talleyrand school, always silky and smiling, anxious to impress upon you that he was a mere humble interpreter, while through his bland diffidence it was easy to distinguish a latent ambition to have everything his own way, and a perfect confidence in his own powers. When we jokingly called him a humbug, and tried to explain to him the meaning of the term, he evidently regarded it as a compliment, while he deprecated it in his usual air of insinuating self-satisfaction.

I was fortunate enough to sit next Higono-kami at lunch, and we employed ourselves making a vocabulary on his fan. Though he had never seen a foreigner, until within the last few months, in his life, he could write in the English character, and was very quick in picking up and retaining the correct pronunciation of every vowel I told him. He informed me that he was qualifying himself to be

appointed one of the Ambassadors to be sent to Europe, and anxious, in consequence, to lose no opportunity of learning English. I saw him almost every day during the remainder of my stay in Yedo, and he generally used to repeat without a mistake the lesson of the day before. He was infinitely more interested in studying English than in watching the progress of the negotiations, and carried perpetually about in his bosom a stock of fans, which contained his vocabulary. At luncheon, however, he generally contrived to combine duty with inclination, and having carefully noted the name of each dish, forthwith proceeded to partake of it.

Our guests informed us that a choice of two houses was at our disposal, but that they regretted that the Emperor's illness would prevent his giving Lord Elgin the audience he desired. In the mean time, it was arranged that some of our party should go on shore to examine our future abode. After luncheon, the Admiral went over the ship, inspecting her thoroughly, when he took occasion to discuss the merits of oscillating cylinders and show himself well versed in machinery.

Upon our visitors taking their departure, the humbler members of their retinue, who were all ranged upon the deck, prostrated themselves as their lords and kamis passed.

In consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather, our landing was postponed until the 17th of August. On the morning of that day, great pre-

parations were made, in order that the event might take place with due eclat. It had been arranged that some Japanese officials should come off to accompany his Excellency on shore. They were evidently under the impression that we were going to land in their boats, and were not a little startled to find themselves on board the Lee, in company with the greater part of the officers of the squadron, all in full-dress, and with thirteen ships' boats in tow, looking spruce and gay, with their neat crews, and ensigns flying. The Retribution, Furious, and yacht were all dressed out; and as the little Lee steamed boldly on past the forts, and threaded her way among the junks beyond, the faces of our Japanese friends elongated at finding our entire indifference to shallow water and sandbanks.

At last soundings in seven feet reminded us that even the Lee had a bottom, and we dropped anchor and got into our boats. As we did so, the ships thundered forth a salute, the band of the Retribution, in a paddle-box boat, struck up "Rule, Britannia," the rest of the boats formed in procession, Lord Elgin's barge in the centre, between four paddle-box boats, each with a brass gun in the bow; and in this order we pulled along the shore for about three miles, a spectacle such as Japanese eyes had never before witnessed, and the novelty of which induced numerous boats to push off and take a nearer view of us as we moved steadily and rapidly along. The landing-place was about the centre of the city, which is here protected

along the sea-face by green batteries: the grassy slopes, dotted with handsome trees, would rather lead us to suppose that we were approaching a park than the most populous part of a densely-crowded city. We turned off from the waters of the bay into a little creek, spanned by a bridge. So shallow, however, was the water, that we had some difficulty in

The Landing-place, Yedo.

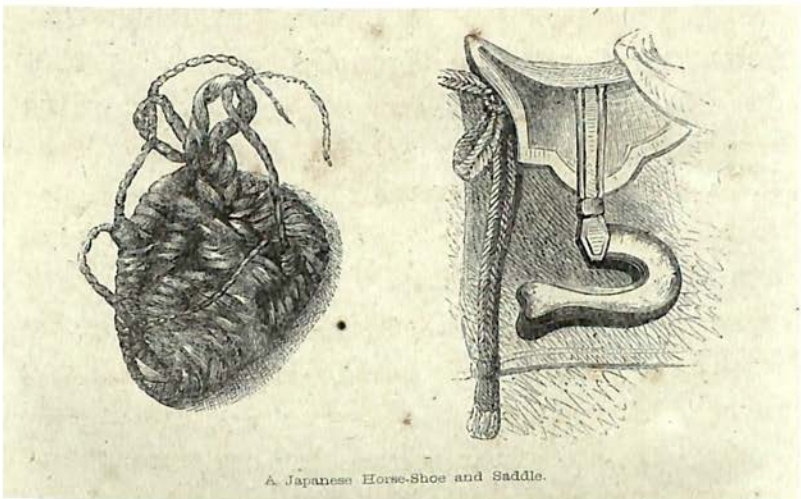
forcing even the smaller boats to the foot of the stairs: we were consoled for the inconvenience by being informed that this was the landing-place reserved for the exclusive use of the highest officers of state.

At this point there was comparatively no crowd, the batteries being enclosed, and not open to the general

public. Had the Japanese been as civilised as we are, they would have admitted a select few with tickets, to obtain which it would have been necessary to make immense interest with our friend Admiral Nangai Gembano-kami. As it was, all who were there seemed in some way officially connected with the day's proceedings. We were supplied with tea while the norimons and horses were getting ready. Norimons are the palanquins of Japan; they differ, however, from the ordinary palanquin, in being square instead of oblong, so that a reclining posture is impossible. The occupant sits cross-legged, and is very near the ground, the pole on which the norimon is supported passing over the roof. Four men carry this somewhat uncomfortable contrivance, which is by no means well adapted to the stranger desirous of looking about him: under these circumstances I always avoided a norimon when it was possible to get a horse. Upon this occasion we had our choice: they were all standing outside the gate, where an immense crowd was already collected.

I soon found myself upon a fiery galloway, perched on a very hard saddle, my feet in stirrups almost big enough to go to sea in, and something between a catamaran and a Turkish slipper in shape. They are pointed at one end so as to serve the purpose of a spur; and if the horse is fresh, the great business of life is to keep the stirrup from touching him; but it is impossible to devote one's whole attention to this, for as the stirrup-lea-

thers are full of knots, and the saddle full of knobs, and most of us have left China martyrs to that scourge of the country, boils—our minds are fully occupied with a variety of weighty considerations. Still I found time to observe that my horse's tail was carefully tied up in a long bag which almost reached the ground; that his feet were swaddled in straw shoes, an abundant supply of which I carried



A Japanese Horse-Shoe and Saddle.

hanging under my stirrups. These were carefully fastened on with lashings of twisted straw, and whenever one shoe was worn out or kicked off, another was immediately tied on; hence arises the custom in Japan of measuring distances by horses' shoes. Here you ask in how many horse shoes will I reach the residence of the Spiritual Emperor? which, after all, does not differ very much from the old problem of how many cows' tails will reach the moon.

Fortunately each horse was attended by two grooms, it being a great point with a Japanese that the public should suppose him riding an animal so spirited that the combined exertions of two men are scarcely sufficient to restrain his ardour. These men tugged incessantly at the mouth of my poor steed, shouting to him constantly "Chai, chai," which means "Gently, gently," and making an immense fuss whenever we came to a gutter; but I was too glad to be relieved the responsibility of guiding him to interfere, and the muslin reins hung listlessly between my fingers.

Meantime the procession was formed, and was by no means unpicturesque. In front marched a pompous official, accompanied by a man carrying a spear, the badge of authority; he was closely followed by a knot of officials in a neat costume of a coarse-looking black gauze, like thick mosquito-curtains. On their backs or shoulders was stamped the Imperial trefoil, or the private arms of the owner. Some were dressed exactly alike, others wore blue and white dresses; but every individual was evidently in a uniform befitting his rank and position. All these men, however, were probably servants, or quite subordinate officials; some carried aloft umbrellas covered with large waterproof bags, and others lacquered portmanteaus on poles over their shoulders. This was suppositious baggage. On each side of the procession walked policemen in a sort of harlequin costume, composed of as many

colours as if their dress was made from a patch-work counterpane: each of these men carried iron rods six or seven feet long, from the top of which depended a quantity of iron rings. Every time that this rod was brought to the ground with the jerk of authority, it emitted a loud jingle, which was heard far and wide through the crowd, and was, I am bound to say, respected by them accordingly. Behind this vanguard we came, some on horse-back and some in norimons; and more men in black gauze, and umbrella-carriers, and variegated police-men, brought up the rear.

As for the crowd, it was wild with excitement; the inhabitants of every cross street and lane poured out to see us pass. The excitement of maid-servants in our own country, when the strains of martial music fall upon their ears, was nothing to it. There were mothers with small babies hanging over their shoulders, reck-less of their progeny, hastening to swell the crowd; children dodging under old people's legs, and old people tottering after children, and bathers of both sexes, regardless of the fact that they had nothing on but soap, or the Japanese substitute for it, crowding the doorways. The clatter of pattens was quite re-markable: as all the women wear high wooden pat-tens, which are very inconvenient to run in, and as women in Japan, as in England, formed the largest proportion of the mob, the scuffling they made added to the tumult. Not that the people were the least disorderly, they laughed and stared and ran parallel

with us, till stopped by a barrier, for the Japanese are perfect in the management of crowds. In the principal street there are wooden gates about every two hundred yards, with a gatekeeper seated in a little house like a turnpike. The moment we pass this the gate is shut, and the old crowd is left behind to crane through the bars, and watch with envious eyes the new crowd forming. All the cross streets entering the main street are shut off from it by ropes stretched across them, under or over which the people never attempt to pass.

The crowd was, to all appearance, entirely composed of the shopkeepers and lower classes. The men were decently clothed, and the women wore a sort of jacket above their skirt, which was, however, constructed upon a rather *negligé* principle. The first impression of the fair sex which the traveller receives in a Japanese crowd is in the highest degree unfavourable; the ghastly appearance of the faces and bosoms, thickly coated with powder, the absence of eyebrows, and the blackened teeth, produce a most painful and disagreeable effect. Were it not for this abominable custom, Japanese women would probably rank high among Eastern beauties, certainly far before Chinese. All Japanese writers whom I have read upon the subject, affirm that to have no eyebrows and black teeth is considered a beauty in Japan, and that the object of the process is to add to the charms of the fair one. The result of my

inquiry and observation, however, rather led me to form an opposite conclusion.

In the first place, young ladies do not, as a rule, neglect any means of improving their looks; but no Japanese young ladies, even after they are "out," think of taking this method of increasing their powers of fascination; they colour their cheeks and lips and deck their hair, but it is not until they have made a conquest of some lucky swain, that, to prove their devotion to him, they begin to blacken their teeth and pull out their eyebrows. He, privileged being, is called upon to exhibit no such test of his affection; on the contrary, his lawful wife having so far disfigured herself as to render it impossible, that she should be attractive to any one else, seems to lose her charms for her husband as well; so he places her at the head of his establishment, and adds to it an indefinite number of handmaidens, who neither pull out their eyebrows nor blacken their teeth; hence it seems not difficult to account for the phenomenon which is universally admitted, that while Japanese wives are celebrated for their virtue, their husbands are no less notorious for their licentiousness.

It is only fair to state that, in addition to black teeth and bare brows, a Japanese Lothario has the avenging dagger to deter him from intrigue, adultery in Japan being punished by the death of both the guilty parties. But it must not be supposed that the ladies of Japan consider themselves a more ill-used race than those in other parts of the world; so far from

it, there is probably no Eastern country in which the women have so much liberty or such great social enjoyment. Polygamy is not permitted, and, from all we could learn, the position of the ladies corresponds more nearly to that which they occupy in the West than in the East. They are respected in society as lawful wives, and their children inherit whatever titles or property appertain to the family. To them

Japanese Ladies and Children (from a native drawing.)

belong all the privileges of legitimacy in a country where "family" is much esteemed: a matrimonial alliance is, consequently, a matter of serious consideration to parents, and a good match much to be desired. Then these ladies are subject to no seclusion, but go to theatres, breakfasts, picnics, and even flower-shows, conducted after their own fashion. They are very fond of pleasure-parties on the water, and are

skilled in the guitar, so that it is quite possible to be sentimental in Japan even with black teeth. The ladies are also said to be adepts at dancing, but the gentlemen look on instead of offering themselves as partners. We had, unfortunately, no opportunity of seeing any Japanese ladies, our time was so fully occupied; and when I did at last obtain a promise from Moriyama to take me to his abode, we could not find a spare hour.

Fortunately we did not digress so much from the main street of Yedo as I have from this account of our progress along it. For at least two miles did we pass between two rows of human beings, six or eight deep, until at last turning down a short lane, and passing between a pair of heavy wooden gates, which closed behind us, we entered a courtyard formed by a temple and its adjacent buildings, at one corner of which a number of servants were standing on the steps of a verandah waiting to receive us.

Here we dismounted, and exultingly took possession of our future residence in Yedo.

RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH MISSION AT YEDO.
(Japan)

CHAPTER VI.

RESIDENCE OF BRITISH MISSION—PLAN OF OUR HOUSE—SOFT MATTING—JAPANESE SPIES—SHINGLE ROOFS—THE PRINCES' QUARTER—AN OBSTRUCTIVE ARISTOCRACY—ARGUMENTS ON THEIR SIDE—EVILS OF CIVILISATION—RESTRICTIONS ON THE NOBLES—PALACES OF THE PRINCES—THE CITADEL—PANORAMA OF YEDO—AN IMPERIAL BANQUET—A SHOPPING EXPEDITION—FIRE-LADDERS—WE ARE MISTAKEN FOR CHINESE—BATHING-HOUSES—HANDSOME LACQUER-WARE—A SILK-MERCER'S—AN ACTIVE POLICE—ORGANISATION OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT—STREET DOGS—WILD DEER.

THE apartments appropriated to the use of the British Mission were connected with a Buddhist temple, in which some description of service seemed constantly to be going on. Before landing, Lord Elgin had been requested to send in an exact list of the number of Europeans, including servants, by whom he was to be accompanied; and he accordingly furnished a requisition for accommodation for eighteen. This included a certain number of officers from the squadron. Some of these occupied rooms usually inhabited by priests, immediately to the right on entering the outer yard. Our rooms formed one side of an inner court, or rather garden, consisting of a lawn, in the centre

of which was a pond covered with lotus, and containing a tiny island, approached by a rustic bridge. Very large gold-fish floated lazily about under the broad lotus-leaves.

This agreeable retreat was shut in from the outer world by the temple on one side, and in all other directions by a high artificial bank, covered with shrubbery and pine trees, from between the lower branches of which, nevertheless, curious eyes might frequently be detected watching the movements of the mysterious strangers. The lower rooms were all divided from each other by paper screens running on slides, and movable at pleasure, so that they could be subdivided as circumstances required. By these means we procured a large dining-room, besides Lord Elgin's sitting-room; and a spacious loft up-stairs, in addition to the rooms below, furnished sleeping accommodation for the whole party.

Considering how short a time had been allowed our hosts to make preparations for our reception, it was quite wonderful how carefully they had forestalled our wants. They had first been made acquainted with the requirements of Europeans in the matter of furniture through Mr Harris. Prior to that gentleman's visit, the Government had sent privately to Simoda to have exact copies made of his furniture, so that, on reaching Yedo, he found, to his astonishment, chairs, tables, and beds in a city where all such articles had been previously unknown. So we were delighted to find not only beds, but mattresses, and mosquito cur-

tains, and comfortable dressing-gowns, of rather too thick a texture, however, for the time of year.

On my dressing-table was a black lacquer jug and basin, but on a purely Japanese model, the jug like a small bucket, the basin like a miniature tub; besides this there was a black lacquered tobacco-stand, furnished with pipes and tobacco. These stands are like small trays, and contain two compartments for tobacco; one for fire, which is preserved in a glowing cake under ashes, and one for the discharged remains of the pipes; these lie like pens in their own division. I had, moreover, a little window overlooking the residence of a Japanese family of moderate means. From this post of observation I could see the children playing games, the mamma sewing, or busy with household cares, and listen to a young lady who used to be rather too fond of playing the lute.

All our rooms were matted in the usual way with wadded mats, so scrupulously clean that we began by walking about in our own or Japanese socks, for fear of dirtying them; but it was so exceedingly troublesome to be perpetually putting on and kicking off our shoes, that we ultimately sacrificed cleanliness to convenience. We found, moreover, that a Japanese sandal was by no

A Japanese Sandal.

means adapted to the tender toes of the West. These mats were all exactly the same size, so that there is never a difficulty about getting them to fit the apartment. Each mat was six feet three inches long, three feet two inches wide, and four inches thick; they were made of rice or wheat straw plaited tightly. A mat has thus come to be regarded as a standard measure in Japan; and inasmuch as the rooms are capable of expansion or retraction at pleasure by sliding the screens, and the mats are conveniently small and movable, the internal fitting of a house is not a very elaborate process.

The bathing arrangements were perhaps the most complete part of the establishment. There were three bathing-rooms, each containing two large new wooden tubs, one of which was kept constantly supplied with hot, the other with cold water. There were buckets of all sizes for convenient douching and splashing.

As the Lieutenant-Governor of Yedo was the high official responsible for our good behaviour, and for all contingencies which might arise out of our sojourn in the capital, it was only natural that he should adopt the necessary precautionary measures. The large ante-room adjoining our apartments was, accordingly, filled with a numerous body of Japanese, told off ostensibly to wait upon us, but really to watch and report our hourly proceedings as well. These men swore allegiance to one Tainoske, an interpreter

of an inferior grade to the distinguished Moriyama, but a most civil and obliging person; nevertheless, he made up for a scanty knowledge of Dutch by an anxious willingness, and an imperturbable temper, under sometimes rather trying circumstances. It is due to his satellites to say that they were equally amiable, and when caught poking their heads above the stairs to watch the process of the Briton going to bed, and ordered by him peremptorily to decamp, they always did so with smiles and bows, only, however, to peep at him again when the first opportunity offered. The excuse which naturally occurs to a Japanese when he visits your apartment is, that he has come to clean something.

Some of our party inhabiting the rooms near the entrance gateway were more highly honoured. They were separated from an adjoining house only by a paper screen. One morning, while dressing, their attention was arrested by a scratching upon the paper followed by a suppressed tittering. Upon investigating the cause, a pair of sparkling eyes were visible at two little peep-holes expressly constructed: it was evident that a toilet, as performed by an English gentleman, was a spectacle which afforded intense amusement to the young ladies of the family next door.

The outer courtyard was a constant scene of bustle and confusion; here were norimans and horses always in readiness, and a row of impromptu stables was run up during our stay with wonderful rapidity

I watched with astonishment the process of roofing them with shingles. A man crawled along with a basket under his arm full of shingles about three inches square, and a little thicker than wafers, and with his mouth full of wooden tacks: these he disgorged, and tapped in with a small mallet with extraordinary skill and quickness, completing a waterproof roof in a very short time, but so fragile in appearance that it seemed as though a puff of wind would blow it away. The Japanese are very skilful builders. The annexed woodcut is a representation, by a native artist, of the mode of plastering a house.

Plasterers at Work (from a native drawing.)

Altogether we were well pleased with our abode, and having seen ourselves fairly installed in it, the appetite for more novelty began again to make itself felt, and we were glad of the excuse which a visit to Count Poutiatine afforded us to sally forth once more into the streets of Yedo.

This time we soon turned out of the main street,

and, leaving the dense crowd behind us, dived into the Princes' or aristocratic quarter. We were amazed at the different aspect which the streets here presented from those we had just left ; the parti-coloured policemen did not think it worth while to accompany us, so small was the crowd which gathered as we went. Belgravia in September does not look more deserted than did these fashionable thoroughfares, so dull, clean, and respectable. On each side of the street, which was twenty or thirty yards wide, was an open paved drain, about four feet in depth and as many in breadth ; an abundant stream of running water carried off any impurities which might be thrown into it. These conduits looked moats in miniature to the princely habitations under the walls of which they passed. The lower parts of these walls were built of huge blocks of rough stone, above which they were raised to a height of about twenty feet, constructed of masonry, but carefully whitewashed, and ornamented with raised groinings. In the centre was a gateway painted red or some bright colour, with a pent roof, and ornaments in lacquer upon it. Beyond this there was no sort of architectural pretension about these palaces. They evidently covered a large area of ground, as four or five were sufficient to compose a whole street, the walls of one residence extending for two or three hundred yards, and here and there perforated with windows, from between the bars of which peered female faces.

We had no opportunity of inspecting the internal

economy of any of these sumptuous abodes. They belong to a class who are for the most part unfavourable to the introduction of foreigners into Japan. With few exceptions, the old aristocracy of Japan dread the foreign element as possibly subversive of that influence which they at present exercise in the government of the country.

Knowing that these sentiments prevailed largely, and were to some extent gaining ground in consequence of the concessions made in the treaty recently concluded with Mr Harris, it was with some dismay that we heard that the enlightened Prime Minister, Bitsuno-kami, with whom that treaty had been negotiated, had been turned out of office a few days before our arrival, and was succeeded by men known as prominent members of what might be called the Tory party of Japan. In fact, we arrived immediately after a political crisis which had turned upon the foreign question, and in which the Government of the day had been beaten.

As we rode past the palaces of these obstructive grandees, we could scarcely wonder at their opposition to the introduction of any disturbing element into the country. Had they known as much of the civilisation of the West as we did, they might, perhaps, have doubted about the propriety of excluding it. Not being so well informed, they argue probably in this way: "Our country supplies every want which is felt by the population that inhabits it

Abundantly favoured by Providence, we are dependent for no one single article upon our neighbours, and are still deprived of none of the necessities or luxuries of life. Our large population, estimated at thirty-five millions, has, nevertheless, space enough in the area furnished by these fertile islands. With the exception of a few orders of religious mendicants, abject poverty is unknown amongst us. The government is conducted upon a system which supervises all classes of the community, from the greatest man in the realm to the humblest individual in it; while, in order to the due protection of society, it requires a strict adherence to the criminal code, which punishes severely those who infringe it. Thus the great mass of the people are happy and contented, while we, the nobles of the land, are by no means disposed to imperil the privileges attaching to our exalted position. We see no change by which either we or those beneath us can possibly be benefited. We desire nothing which we have not got. It has not been proved to us that railroads or electric telegraphs make people happier. We tried the Christian religion, and it led to the destruction of thousands of our countrymen. We do not think our civilisation would be increased by a knowledge of the latest improvement in gunnery, or the newest invention for the destruction of our fellow-creatures. We are contented with sakee, and desire neither brandy, rum, gin, whisky, nor any other spirituous production of

progressive countries. We can bear to be deprived of opium, a luxury the charms of which are as yet unknown to us. There are also a few diseases which do not exist among us, and the importation of which we do not think would increase our general happiness. At present our subjects are peaceable and well-conducted, of an honest and simple nature, not given to brawling and quarrelling; but from what we have seen of the Europeans who man the ships coming to our country, we do not think this simplicity and tranquillity in our seaports would be likely to continue.* For these reasons we, the pig-headed aristocracy of Japan, do not desire to see that happy and favoured Empire opened to the civilisation of the West."

If such be their mode of reasoning, we can only pity their ignorance and blindness, and refer them to

* The following extract from a late Hong-Kong paper will confirm the statement of the Japanese in this regard:—"The sooner the consuls are at their posts in Japan, and the treaties ratified, the better. The sailors from the ships are bringing sad disgrace on the foreign name. At the fire which occurred at Decima a few weeks back, they behaved most shamefully, and it was known that they had plundered dollars to a considerable amount. These they of course desired to spend after the Jack-on-shore fashion. They, accordingly, go on shore in quest of drink, and commit all those excesses for which their class, under such circumstances, is notorious. Some of these sailors had armed themselves, and had taken refuge in the mountains, but had been apprehended and sent back to their ships. The Japanese Government were naturally much incensed at this, and the foreign community greatly grieved."—*Daily Press*, Hong-Kong, 21st April 1859.

the other side of the Atlantic for a definition of the term "manifest destiny." It must not, however, be supposed that, because these princes are contented with their condition, it is such as would suit the aristocracy of other countries, except, perhaps, that of Russia. It has been, doubtless, the result of their own turbulence and insubordination that they are now so narrowly watched by the Government, and treated as though they were the natural enemies of the State. In former times Japan was divided into sixty-eight separate principalities. In consequence, as I understood, of the difficulty of keeping in order some of these minor potentates, it was found expedient, when the opportunity offered, to subdivide their territories with a view of lessening their power, so that there are now three hundred and sixty feudal princes of greater or less importance, each of whom is compelled to have a residence in Yedo, to live in the capital during six months of the year, and during the remaining six months to retire in solitude to his principality, leaving his wife and family at Yedo as hostages for his good behaviour.

Besides these, there are about three hundred smaller divisions of territory, so that the Empire is altogether divided into upwards of six hundred fiefs. I could not exactly discover the nature of the tenure by which these were severally held. The original sixty-eight doubtless owed allegiance to the Mikado alone. Others hold of the Tycoon, or Temporal Emperor;

while others appear to be vassals to the larger princes, or, if not holding directly of them, at any rate recognise their ascendancy, and are considered so far beneath them in rank as to be deprived even of the privilege of having a wife and family permanently resident in the capital. Doubtless some of these princes are, practically, absolute in their own dominions, and set even the Council of State at defiance. Kangono-kami, who is the first prince in the Empire; Satsuma, whose daughter is married to the Temporal Emperor; Achino-kami, and others, are not to be trifled with, and do not allow governmental interference in the internal management of their affairs. It is a hazardous office to play the spy in the capital of one of these magnates. Others, however, are less fortunate; they are compelled to submit to the supervision of two Government secretaries, who take it in turn to administer the affairs of their territories.

The Prince of Satsuma was reported to have no less than nine town-houses in Yedo, and he pays his annual visit to the capital accompanied by an army of very respectable dimensions. It is an ordinary thing for one of these princes to parade the country with a force of some thousands of men. When we remember that all these followers have to be lodged on the premises of their chief, and that there are three hundred and sixty of these dignitaries, we cannot wonder that their residences are necessarily capacious, and cover a very great extent

of ground. To judge from the noble trees we observed rising above the walls, spacious pleasure-grounds must be enclosed within them. The handsomest palace I observed in Yedo, was that belonging to Prince Achi. Situated on the steep side of a hill, the gates were tastefully ornamented, the walls surmounted with trellis-work, and numerous magnificent plane and other trees drooped over them into the street, tempting one to effect a burglarious entrance, and explore, if possible, the sacred precincts. Occasionally, in the course of our explorations of the city, we met men of rank riding along one of these silent streets, their retinue taking up almost its entire length, consisting, as usual, of men carrying badges on long poles, the insignia of the rank of their lord, umbrellas in bags, and lacquered portmanteaus. When a great man wishes to move about "nayboen," or incognito, his retinue is not decreased, but these badges of his rank are packed up in the aforesaid portmanteaus.

If the residence of Count Poutiatine, which we at last reached, was in a more fashionable quarter than ours, it was neither so commodious nor so picturesque. His Excellency was having his audience with the Prime Minister; so we prolonged our ride towards the citadel. Crossing a species of canal which forms the outer moat, we continued to pass through a quarter still occupied by the residences of the nobility, until we burst suddenly upon a view so unexpected and

so remarkable in its character, that we could scarcely believe that we were still in the centre of a huge city, and that city the capital of an Empire supposed to be in a state of barbarism. Standing on a broad terrace, we looked down some seventy or eighty feet upon a moat fifty or sixty yards in width, but expanding to a small lake, covered with lotus, as it approached the precipitous causeway by which it was traversed. A steep slope of grassy turf rose from the opposite edge of the water to an even greater elevation than that at which we were standing. Groups of trees fringed the water, and drooped their boughs into it; while a massive wall, constructed of blocks of stone almost Cyclopean in their proportions, crowned the high bank. This wall was in its turn surmounted by a wooden palisade—the spreading branches of gigantic cedars, and the leafy crowns of numerous tall trees appearing above it, gave evidence of gardens and pleasure-grounds within.

Following along the margin of this gigantic ditch, the largest artificial work of the sort I ever saw, we reached the narrow causeway which affords ingress to this *rus in urbe*, for from this point we were emphatically reminded that we were indeed in the centre of a vast city. We had now attained a considerable elevation, and, except where the prospect was interrupted by the citadel itself, obtained an extensive panoramic view over the greater part of Yedo, extending in an endless series of house-tops in a southerly

P.G.B. BEDWELL, DELT.

M. & N. HANHART, LITH.

VIEW OF YEDO.

From the Citadel.

direction, and fully confirming the impression which was rapidly gaining upon us, that the capital of Japan must take a first-class position, in point of extent and population, among the cities of the world. The citadel alone is said to measure eight miles in circumference, and to afford shelter to forty thousand souls, which it may well do, and yet leave room for spacious palaces, and scenes of rural retirement and rustic beauty. As its Imperial occupant is too great a person ever to be permitted to pass into the vulgar world outside its walls, he is, poor man, entitled to as much space as can reasonably be afforded to him within them.

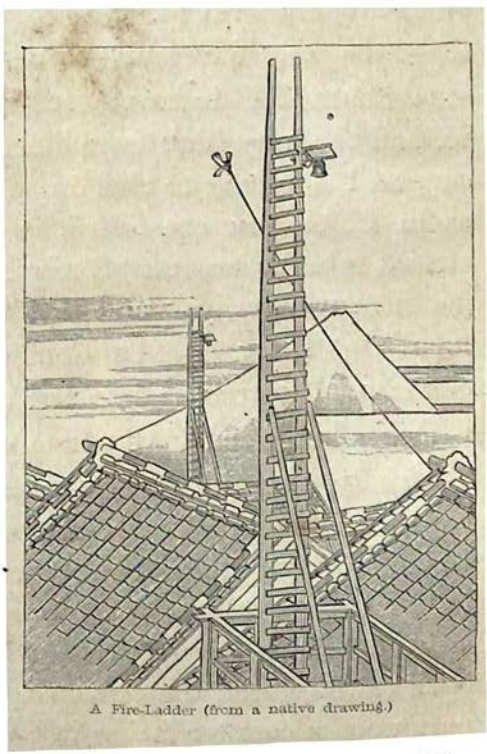
Reluctantly turning our backs upon the entrance to these forbidden precincts, we jogged homewards back through the quiet streets to where policemen again waited to take us in charge, and crowds again pressed and scrambled to stare at us; and so, thoroughly exhausted by our first day in Yedo, to seek repose in the cloisters of our temple. We found, however, that another ordeal was to be passed before we could flatter ourselves that we should be left alone. The Emperor had sent a Japanese dinner to his Excellency, and when we arrived the floor of our dining-room was strewn with delicacies. Each person was provided with a little repast of his own, the exact ditto to that in which all his friends were indulging;—and when anybody made a gastronomic discovery of any value, he announced it to the

company: so at the recommendation of one we all plunged into the red lacquer cups on the right, or, at the invitation of another, dashed recklessly at what seemed to be pickled slugs on the left. We found it difficult even then to describe to each other the exact dishes we meant, how much more hopeless to attempt it now? There was a good deal of sea-weed about it, and we each had a capital broiled fish. With that, and an immense bowl of rice, it was impossible to starve; but my curiosity triumphed over my discretion, and I tasted of every pickle and condiment, and each animal and vegetable delicacy, of every variety of colour, consistency, and flavour; an experience from which I would recommend any future visitor to Japan to abstain.

As the Japanese have neither pigs nor sheep, poultry, venison, and fish are the staples. Many of the religious sects in the country forbid the consumption of animal food. Meanwhile our lacquer cups were abundantly replenished with hot sakee, a spirit extracted from rice, and of a pale-sherry colour. It is by no means of a disagreeable flavour, though, when imbibed very hot, it is somewhat intoxicating. We were thankful at last to get to bed after so much excitement; and if our rest was somewhat troubled, we had no right to complain.

On the following morning we started immediately after breakfast on a shopping expedition. Turning to the left on entering the main street, we followed

it for upwards of an hour. As our horses stepped out well, I should judge the distance traversed to have been about four miles. Throughout its entire length, we passed between crowded lines of spectators, and through a long series of barriers. I observed that we were preceded by runners, who went in advance to inform the ward-keepers of our approach. At most of the barriers a ladder was erected with a bell at the top of it, to be rung in case of fire. These ladders present a singular appearance as you pass along the street, and look as if they formed part of a show, and only waited for "the donkey." The houses were most of them built of wood, but tiled, and of two stories. The architecture of Japan, however, is so unpretending, that although the streets are broad and clean, and thronged with passengers in the business quarter, they are by no means imposing. Here and



A Fire-Ladder (from a native drawing.)

there we pass a building higher than the rest, built of unburnt brick, with iron shutters. This is a fire-proof store, in which property can be stowed away in safety at the first tinkle of the fire-bell. Some of the houses are supplied with large tubs, kept constantly full of water, in anticipation of the same much-dreaded element.

As the only foreigners of whom the untravelled inhabitants of Yedo have ever heard are the Chinese, we had the very high compliment paid us of being supposed to belong to that favoured nation; so that, as in China you are called, as you ride along the streets, a barbarian or a "foreign devil," in Japan the gamins run after you and say, "Look at the Chinamen!" "There go the Chinamen!" while their commercial instinct is betrayed by the shout, "Chinamen, Chinamen! have you anything to sell?"

This trifling circumstance enables us forcibly to realise the extent of that entire exclusion of strangers which has been for so long so jealously and successfully maintained. As we approached the heart of the city, the shops improved in appearance. They are open to the street, the wares displayed for the most part upon a counter facing it. We passed over three wooden bridges on piles, crossing branches of the Todagawa. Many of the shops have signboards on single posts, like those of public-houses in England, inscribed with both Chinese and Japanese characters; others have them written on pieces of cotton. The

bathing-houses are all distinguished by a dark-blue or black strip of cotton, like a banner, waving over the doorway. These establishments are always full of occupants, and I consequently observed no bathing in the streets as at Nagasaki. They differ slightly from those at Simoda. In that primitive town there was only one room for both sexes; but at Yedo there was sometimes a partition about breast high to divide the ladies from the gentlemen. Over the bathing-rooms there are generally tea-rooms, to which the bathers resort when in that soothed and relaxed state which is produced by the abundant use of hot water; and without troubling themselves about their personal appearance, refresh themselves with that most popular beverage.

At last, after a progress which seemed interminable, we arrived at a celebrated lacquer-shop, and were soon ushered up-stairs to the show-rooms. Here we found specimens of that manufacture far superior to anything we had seen either at Nagasaki or Simoda, the excellence consisting in the extent to which the design is raised upon the wood.

The varnish itself is extracted from a shrub called the Orrosino-ki, or *Rhus vernix:* it is said to be procured from incisions made on stems that are three years old, from which it oozes like the milk of the india-rubber tree. It is tinted in a great variety of colours with colouring matter, which is rubbed into it upon a copper plate: it is then laid on in

successive coats, and heavily embossed in gold or silver.

The most common designs are the three emblems of longevity, the tortoise, the stork, and the pine-tree. The Japanese are very fond of chimerical animals. Thus the tortoise is often represented with a large bushy tail; in this form he is called Mooki. They are also fond of a fabulous monster with the head of a dragon, the body of a horse, and the hoofs of a deer. In addition to which, Fusi-yama, junks under full sail, or fishes lashing the waves furiously with their tails, are very favourite subjects.

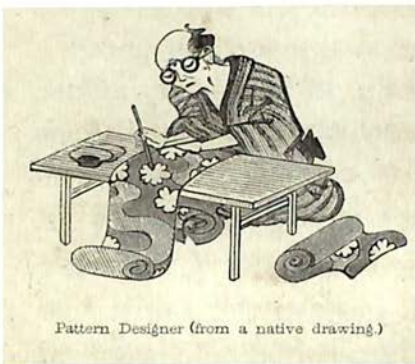
The charm of everything we saw at Yedo lay in the fact of its being purely for Japanese use. Every article was illustrative of the customs of the country. There were luncheon-trays, ladies' toilet-stands, arrangements for carrying fire, writing-cases, cabinets to be presented on the occasion of weddings; in fact a host of patterns and contrivances, strange to our Western eyes, but exquisitely finished, and most elaborately ornamented with quaint and beautiful devices.

Having ticketed our purchases here, to be paid for in all due form through the Government money-changers afterwards, we proceeded to an extensive silk-shop upon the scale of Howell & James's. The whole of the lower story was open to the street, and looked like a vast hall fifty or sixty yards long by twenty in width, intersected with counters nicely

matted, and surrounded by shelves and drawers containing goods; but the largest show-rooms were upstairs. Following obsequious shopmen to the upper story, we were soon seated on a low divan, covered with red cloth, where a train of boys, carrying tea and pipes, made their entry, and presented them to us on their knees. As sugar is considered a great luxury in Japan, and is one of the few articles imported into the country, it is considered a mark of refinement to furnish *eau sucré* on these occasions; but the most sentimental description of beverage is hot water poured over rose-leaves. It requires a highly æsthetic frame of mind to relish a rosebud cocktail.

While we are sipping our tea, the whole floor has become strewn with silks, crapes, and embroideries of every description of texture, shade of colour, and brilliancy of pattern. The silks in Japan are said to be inferior to those of China, though to our inexperienced eyes they looked quite equal to them. The gauzes and crapes would create a furor in England, particularly the former, as the stuff is made of so stiff a material that it would answer the double purpose of a cage and a dress. The embroideries were infinitely superior to anything that China can produce; they are usually worked on satin, and remind one rather of the Gobelin tapestry than of any modern embroidery. Many of the patterns and combinations of colour show great taste. The Japanese

are remarkable for the simplicity and elegance of their taste in matters of dress or ornament, as a general rule avoiding gaudy patterns, or anything which, in the vernacular of the day, is known as "loud." Here is an old gentleman with spectacles on nose, whom a native artist, with some humour, has represented as engaged in designing patterns.



Pattern Designer (from a native drawing.)

We quite regretted that all these curiosities of dress and material should be displayed before persons so little able to appreciate them. There can be no doubt that the contents of a Japanese silk-mercer's shop, transported to England, and exhibited to the female public of our metropolis, would draw large and fashionable crowds. While we were in despair about what to buy, and lost in perplexed speculation as to what would do for dresses, I was amused in watching the humours of the crowd collected in the street below, waiting for our reappearance. They were kept from pressing near the doorway by a cord drawn in a semicircle round it. But a good deal of badinage went on; and one man was so much laughed at that he got excited, and was about to resort to violent measures, when he was at once collared by the ever-vigilant police; his hands were fastened behind him, and he was walked off in

double-quick time, to the great amusement of the bystanders.

I also observed, for the first time, one or two carts of a very rude construction, and drawn by bullocks; but they are apparently very little used in Japan. The lower orders, whose rank does not entitle them either to ride on horseback or to go in norimons, are carried by two men in a most uncomfortable sort of basket, which doubles their knees up to their chins, so that it almost gives one the cramp to look at them.

The whole system of municipal government in the cities in Japan seems very perfect. There is a mayor or goveſnor, some of whose emissaries lived in our ante-chamber; and there are a certain number of deputies to assist him, and a class of officials who seem to be the intermediaries between the people and those in authority, and whose business it is to receive and present petitions, and to forward complaints to the governors, and plead the cause of the aggrieved memorialists. Then every street has its magistrate, who is expected to settle all disputes, to know the most minute details of the private and public affairs of every creature within his jurisdiction, as reported to him by spies, and to keep an accurate record of births, deaths, and marriages. He is responsible for all broils and disturbances, and for the good conduct of the street generally. This functionary is also provided with deputies, and is elected by the popular voice of the inhabitants of the street. To render

the task easier, the male householders are divided into small companies of four or five each, the head of which is responsible to the magistrate for all the proceedings of the members. This complete organisation is furnished with a secretary, a treasurer, a certain number of messengers, &c. Besides the regular constables, it is patrolled at night by the inhabitants themselves, in parties of two or three. From all which it will appear that "our street," in a Japanese city, must be a source of considerable interest and occupation to its inhabitants.

The streets of Yedo are infested with dogs—not the wretched mangy curs of Constantinople or the pariahs of India, but sleek, well-fed, audacious animals, who own no masters, but who seem to thrive on the community, and bid it defiance. They trot proudly about, with ears and tail erect, and are most formidable to meet in a by-lane. These animals are held in as high veneration and respect as they were in former times in Egypt; the most ancient traditions attach to them, and it is a capital crime to put one to death. There are even guardians appointed for their protection, and hospitals to which they are carried in case of illness. Certainly a long experience has taught them to profit by the immunity from persecution which they enjoy. It is only due to them to say that, as a race, they are the handsomest street-dogs I ever saw. The only large animals in Japan are horses, oxen and cows, and buffaloes; but milk, butter, and cheese are unknown as

A STREET IN THE ARISTOCRATIC QUARTER OF YEDO.
From a Japanese Drawing.

articles of consumption. There are no asses or mules, and scarcely any pigs. The largest wild animals are deer, of which, however, there are very few.

As the audience with the two chief Ministers of State was fixed for the afternoon, we were obliged to hurry home to prepare for that important ceremony.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT—"NAYBOEN"—THE SPY SYSTEM—THE COUNCIL OF STATE—A POLITICAL CRISIS—THE "HAPPY DESPATCH"—RUINING A POLITICIAN—THE JAPANESE SOCIAL SCALE—A VISIT TO THE CITADEL—THE JAPANESE MINISTERS—JAPANESE FLUNKIES—TEA AND SWEETMEATS—SHOPPING IN YEDO—DOG MANIA—OFFICIAL VISIT OF COMMISSIONERS—OFFICIAL COSTUME—HAM AND CHAMPAGNE—THE FIRST DAY'S CONFERENCE—JOCOSITY OF HIGO-NO-KAMI—GENERAL GOOD-HUMOUR.

BEFORE proceeding to describe our audience with the Ministers of State, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the system of government of Japan, although gathered from somewhat imperfect sources; for the communicative Moriyama was generally too busy to enter upon any detailed account of Japanese institutions; and although he professed the utmost frankness in his intercourse with us, there can be no doubt that he shared the prejudices and obeyed the instructions of his Government in withholding from us all the information in his power. It was rather from incidental circumstances, in the course of our negotiations, that we gathered some idea of the true source of authority in Japan.

Although nominally consulted in temporal matters, and jealously distinguished from his temporal rival by the term Emperor, the Mikado, or Spiritual Emperor, is in fact a mere puppet. He occasionally receives visits of ceremony from the Tycoon, and gives a formal sanction to matters of State; but generally votes the spiritual crown a bore before he has worn it very long, and, abdicating in favour of a son, descends from the realms above, and passes a peaceful old age in this sublunary sphere.

The Tycoon, on the other hand, is ostensibly the Administrator of the Empire; but he, too, has been exalted to so high a pitch of temporal dignity, that his lofty station has been robbed of all its substantial advantages, and he passes the life of a state prisoner, shut up in his magnificent citadel, except when he pays a state visit to Miako. It was a cruel satire upon this unhappy potentate to present him with a yacht; one might as well request the Pope's acceptance of a wife. There is indeed a practice which exists in Japan, and which may have extended to other countries, of doing improper things "nayboen," as it is called here; in other words, in a recognised incognito. Whether under this happy arrangement the Emperor sometimes slips out of his back-door, I was not informed; but it is certain that the nobles of the land avail themselves extensively of the latitude which it permits.

In a country governed by etiquette, and in which every individual is a slave to conventional rules of

the most precise and rigid description, it is necessary to have a loophole which enables them to sink to the level of ordinary mortals; in other words, to indulge their natural appetites for pleasure or vice. Under the convenient system of "nayboen," a noble may do anything which is not forbidden to the meanest subject. If the Emperor cannot take advantage of "nayboen" while he is alive, he can, as we afterwards discovered, die "nayboen." This is a common practice among grandees, their death being kept secret until the next heir is firmly installed in the possession of the family dignity and honours.

The time of the Emperor seems to be occupied with audiences, receiving reports, and other official formalities, and he is nominally consulted, and his ratification obtained to every measure decided upon by his Council of State. It is said that he is as narrowly watched by spies as any of his subjects. In fact, the more we investigate the extraordinary system under which Japan is governed, the more evident does it become, that the great principle upon which the whole fabric rests, is the absolute extinction of individual freedom: to arrive at this result, resort is had to a complicated machinery, so nicely balanced, that, as everybody watches everybody, so no individual can escape paying the penalty to society of any injury he may attempt to inflict upon it. One most beneficial result arising from this universal system of espionage—for it extends

through all classes of society—is the entire probity of every Government employé. So far as we could learn or see, they were incorruptible. When men can neither offer nor receive bribes; when it is almost impossible, even indirectly, to exercise corrupt influences, there is little fear of the demoralisation of public departments of the State. In this respect Japan affords a brilliant contrast to China, and even to some European countries. So long as this purity exists, even though purchased at the cost of secret espial, there can be little cause to fear the decadence of the Empire. Nominally not a constitution, but a despotism, the Government of Japan is practically an oligarchy; but every noble is watched by the spies and enthralled by the public opinion of his class, which he dares not venture to outrage. There is indeed a Council of State, composed of five of the highest grade of the aristocracy, who are chosen by the Tycoon himself, and a minor Council, consisting of eight of the Titular Princes. All these are under the strict surveillance of private spies, who report to their own masters; and from the evident difficulty the Commissioners found in conceding certain points to which the kamis or princes were avowedly hostile, the Government probably stand in awe of that influential body. It was doubtless owing to the pressure which the latter brought to bear upon the Government of Bitsu-no-kami, the late Prime-Minister, that he was compelled to resign his office. It is a singular fact,

that in Japan, where the individual is sacrificed to the community, he should seem perfectly happy and contented; while in America, where exactly the opposite result takes place, and the community is sacrificed to the individual, the latter is in a perpetual state of uproarious clamour for his rights.

It is this Council, then, influenced by the public opinion of the aristocracy, which governs Japan. To it all official spies report; they appoint all Governors and Secretaries for the administration of the affairs of provinces belonging to the Crown and many of the princes, and are supposed to act as a check upon these latter, who are, however, in all probability, kept in better order by rival jealousies than direct governmental influence. There is another body of men who possess great influence in the State; these are the Princes of the Blood. Should the Tycoon and his Council differ upon any weighty matter of State government, the question is referred for arbitration to a tribunal composed of three of these royal princes. Should they confirm the opinion of the Council, the Tycoon, to whom is denied the privilege of hara-kiri, or the "happy despatch," has no alternative but to abdicate incontinently in favour of his nearest heir. Should, on the other hand, the umpires agree with their royal relative, which in all probability they do, unless public opinion is too strongly against them, then the whole of the Council are bound, without farther ceremony, at once to despatch themselves, in the happy manner peculiar to Japan,

to those Elysian fields, where they will probably become distinguished as canonised kamis, and the patron saints of many a Japanese household.

This notorious method of suicide, the only Japanese custom with which the Western world has long been familiar, has of late years assumed a somewhat modified form, and no longer consists in that unpleasant process of abdomen ripping, which must have been almost as disagreeable an operation to witness as to perform. My friend Higo-no-kami presented me with a knife proper to be used under the old system—an exceedingly business-like weapon about ten inches long, sharp as a razor, and made of steel of the highest temper. Now, this knife is only used to make a slight incision, significant of the intention of the victim to put an end to himself. He has collected his wife and family to see how a hero can die; his dearest friend—he who in our own country would have been his best-man at his wedding—stands over him with a drawn sword, and when he commences to make the aforesaid incision, the sword descends, and the head rolls at the feet of his disconsolate family.

Whether this mode of suicide is really common at the present day, I could not ascertain; no instance of it came to our knowledge during our stay; and I imagine it is too serious a step to be taken, except on very weighty grounds. These may arise either from failure or neglect in a public trust, or in consequence of the commission of some private injury. In some

instances, it seems to answer the purpose of a duel; it is the reduction of that practice to its logical conclusion, and terminates in the death of both parties by the hands of their friends; but more commonly it is resorted to as a means of preserving from disgrace a whole family, one member of which has in some way dishonoured his name: it is a certificate which whitewashes all the survivors. A man who fears to face his destiny in this form, when the claims of honour demand it, places his entire family without the social pale. I am not aware wherein the Japanese points of honour consist, but we may assume that where the preservation of it in the individual requires so great a sacrifice, the standard is proportionably high —far more so, probably, than would suit our views in England, where it would be an exceedingly unpopular way of solving a constitutional difficulty. A ministry would always prefer a dissolution of Parliament to a personal dissolution of this nature. It is pleasanter to go to the country than out of it. A mere change of Government, even in Japan, however, does not involve these consequences, unless the Tycoon is implicated. Witness the still-living Bitsu-no-kami.

Perhaps it is because the "happy despatch" is found to be an inconvenient way of settling personal or political difficulties, that another mode exists of removing a dangerous person much more refined in its character. When a man becomes an object of distrust or suspicion to the Government, either from his great influence or wealth, he is promoted to some office generally at

Miako, which he is compelled to accept, and which entails such a vast expenditure that he is inevitably ruined. Even if his means stand the first shock, one visit from the Tycoon, when he goes to pay his respects to the Mikado, completes the work.

Such is an imperfect outline of the system of government and of the constitution of the upper ranks in society. Although the Commissioners were called Kamis, it did not necessarily follow that they were of princely rank or belonged to the first class of nobles. Kami seems to be a generic appendage to the names of men of a certain rank; just as, in England, all noblemen between the ranks of marquess and baron are styled Lord. It is a title which cannot be used except by those of gentle blood. Next in order to the Saimios, or second class of nobles, come the Priests, who are in their turn followed by the first and second classes of officials, who are for the most part men belonging to the military grade, and have achieved their rank, and the privilege of wearing two swords, by their merit. They are followed by the Professional class—merchants, traders, and peasantry. In addition to these social distinctions, there is a Pariah or despised caste, consisting of tanners and others.

To return, however, to the Council of State, each of the five ministers of which it is composed are appointed by the Tycoon, and preside over separate departments; they rank in regular order, and, among their other functions, to the two senior is committed

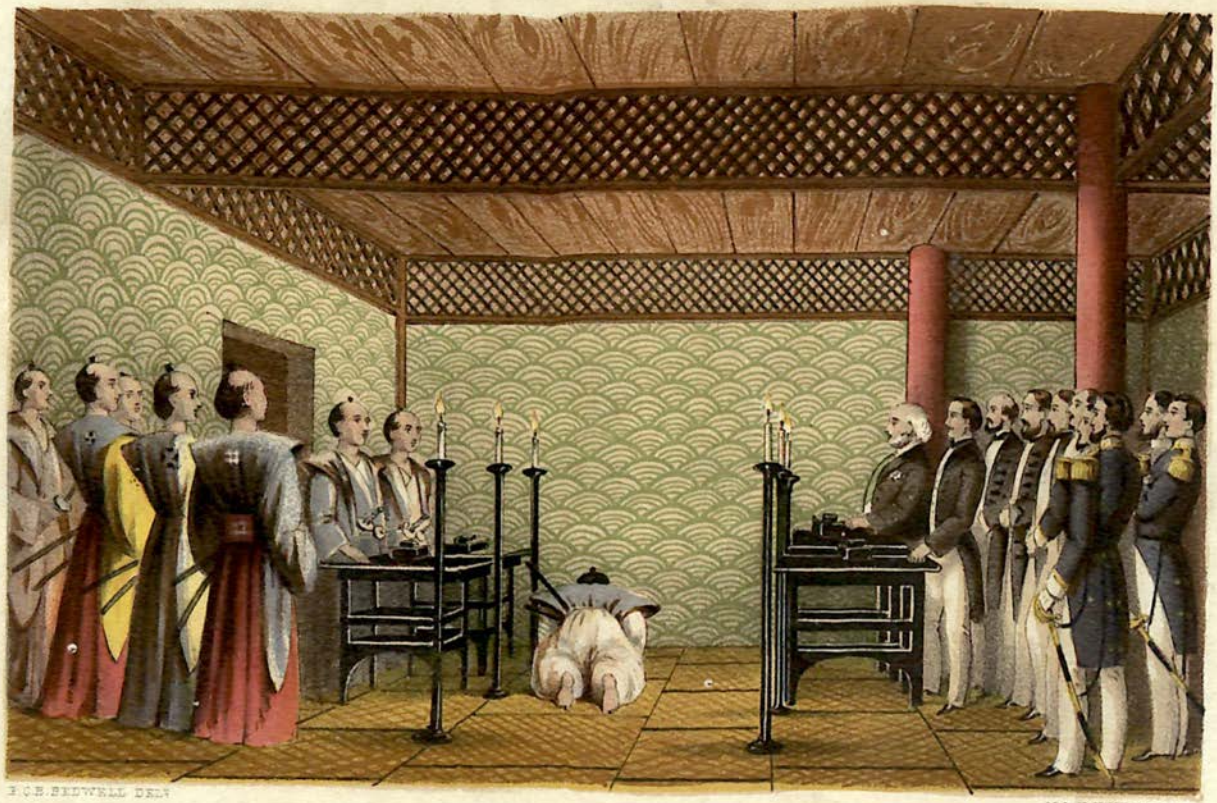
the control of foreign affairs. There were two gentlemen, Otto Bungo-no-kami and another, whose acquaintance we were now about to make. Our morning had been so much occupied in the lacquer and silk shops, that it was late in the afternoon before we started on a five-mile journey to the official residence of these dignitaries, which was just inside the further gate of the citadel.

Our way, as usual, led us down the main street. I made my first experience of a norimon on this occasion, and obtained a view of the crowd in a squatting posture; for while the train of ten norimons was passing, the people sat on their heels to obtain a good view of the occupants. As some of these were naval officers in full uniform, they exhibited signs of unusual satisfaction.

In order not to dirty the mats of our hosts, we were each provided with a pair of slippers in which to scuffle across the yard, for it is not etiquette in Japan for any but the owner of the house to go beyond the outer threshold in his norimon. At that point all guests are put down, and walk to the next entrance.

Passing over a bridge which spanned the moat, and under a gateway of massive proportions, we found ourselves within the walls of the citadel at the opposite side from that on which we had visited it in our ride of the day before.

Unluckily we had not far to go, so that we saw scarcely anything of the interior of this interesting spot. A broad street, similar to those in the Princes'



F.C.B. BEDWELL DEL.

M & N. HANHART, LITH.

INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE EARL OF ELGIN & THE PRIME MINISTERS OF JAPAN.

quarter, led us to a handsome gateway ; this, on one account at all events, we were not a little relieved to find, was our journey's end, as the posture during an hour and a half had been a trying one for British legs. Emerging from our box-like conveyances, we shuffled after Moriyama, who was always at his post. Ascending some steps, at the top of which we relinquished our slippers, we passed through a series of ante-chambers, with walls of paper screens, until we were ushered finally into an oblong apartment, at the further end of which, on the left-hand side, stood the two Ministers behind two low square tables and six wax candles on single stands, for it was by this time 7 P.M. °Exactly facing them were three tables and six more candles, behind which we took up our position. For some time we all remained standing, and the usual complimentary expressions were interchanged. Then all having left the room, except Lord Elgin, Mr Hewsken, and myself, we sat down on chairs (an unexpected luxury), and proceeded to business. Moriyama, during all this time, was in a prostrate attitude on the floor between Lord Elgin and the Ministers, touching the ground reverentially with his forehead whenever he was called upon to interpret. Lower down, and remaining standing, were our friends the Commissioners; while in a sort of passage formed by a hanging screen behind the Ministers, were a row of people who ostensibly took no part in the ceremony, but some of whom were no doubt spies, while others I observed occasionally prompting the Minis-

ters. These latter personages seemed somewhat embarrassed by the novelty of their situation, and gave one the impression of being very new to office.

Otto Bungo-no-kami was a thin spare man, with a shrivelled face, indicating shrewdness, and I should have guessed parsimony. His colleague was heavier-looking, and without any marked expression. They opened the conversation by manifesting some anxiety about the yacht, and wished to know at what period his Excellency intended to make it over to the Japanese Government. Lord Elgin assured them that its delivery should take place immediately on the signing of the Treaty. After a somewhat prolonged discussion on the subject of full powers, so difficult of comprehension to the Eastern mind, it was arranged that the interchange should take place on the following day.

While this was going on, a train of youths entered, bearing pipes and tea. They were all dressed simply and uniformly; indeed, so exactly did they resemble one another, that they must have been selected as good matches. They entered with an air of profound respect, the head slightly bent, the eyes fixed on the ground, and moved with a shuffling gait, as though afraid to lift their feet from the floor.

During the period of our visit these young men were constantly coming in with refreshments, and as they never looked up, it was always a matter of wonder to me how they found their way; while the monotonous regularity of their movements was quite

painful. Notwithstanding which, it must be admitted that the manners of flunkies in Japan are infinitely more agreeable than those of the same race in our own country.

After the ordinary tea, we were supplied with a beverage peculiar to the upper classes of Japan: this consists of a sort of *purée* made of the tea-leaves themselves. They are first stewed, then dried and ground in a hand-mill into a powder; this is mixed with hot water, and whipped with split bamboo until it creams. It is served up hot, and looks like physic. Altogether, I thought it more palatable than senna. This delicacy is called Koitscha, or thick tea; it was succeeded by a number of small square wooden boxes on little stands; they were rather like toy-boxes, and might be supposed to contain some description of game. We each had one of these to ourselves. When the lids were removed, we discovered a very tempting assortment of barley-sugar, sponge-cakes, Gibraltar rock, and other confectionary, not to be distinguished in taste from the manufactures of our own country, except by schoolboys or those really versed in the subject. We were not only supposed to nibble at these sweetmeats during the visit, but the boxes, with all that remained in them, were sent after us to our abode; so that we were enabled, for some days afterwards, to retire to the privacy of our chambers whenever we felt moved, and feast in secresy upon their luscious contents. Our audience having at last come to an end, we took leave with

many profound bows and polite speeches, and returned to our norimons, our companions having in the mean time been feasted with tea and sweetmeats in an adjoining room.

I was not sorry for the opportunity of passing through the streets of Yedo by night. The effect of our procession was very picturesque. In addition to the jingling police, we were accompanied by men bearing on high huge lanterns attached to poles.

Pretty lamps, painted in bright colours and covered with quaint devices, hung in clusters over the shops, illuminated the bath-houses, flared over street-stalls, or depended from ropes slung across the side-streets. As the crowd seemed even more dense than in the daytime, the brilliant glare lit up their eager, curious faces and half-clad figures, and imparted a wild, uncouth aspect to the scene. It was nearly ten o'clock at night before we reached home, and we had as yet no reason to reproach ourselves with idleness or inactivity.

The representations which we had repeatedly made to our friend and guardian Tainoske, and the avidity which we manifested in the purchase of all Japanese articles of manufacture, induced that worthy to collect for our benefit, every morning, a number of vendors of lacquer, china, and embroidery, who used to spread their wares in our verandahs; so that, during the earlier part of the day, they assumed somewhat the appearance of a bazaar. In the enjoyment of this extravagant amusement, our mornings used to fly

rapidly. Each box contained some specimen we had not yet seen. The china in particular was an endless source of interest, from the variety of patterns and devices which it presented. On some of the cups were raised lacquer representations of pleasure-boats, with tiny windows, on opening which a party of ladies and gentlemen drinking tea were discovered within, all on the minutest possible scale. At the bottom of other cups, a tortoise, beautifully executed in china, might be observed placidly reposing, until the tea was poured in, when he rose to the surface a most animated reptile.

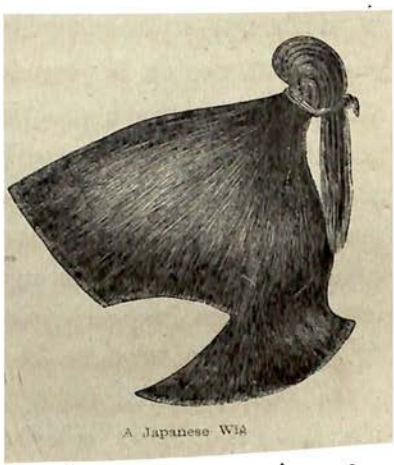
But the taste for china, and the rage for lacquer, were nothing as compared to the mania for dogs. The dog peculiar to Japan, and which is supposed to have been the origin of the King Charles spaniel, does indeed bear a considerable resemblance to that breed: the ears are not so long and silky, and the nose is more of a pug; but the size, shape, and colour of the body are almost identical. The face is by no means attractive: the eyes are usually very prominent, as though starting from the head; the forehead is overhanging, and the nose so minute that it forms rather a depression than a projection on the face; the jaw is somewhat prominent, and is frequently so much underhung that the mouth cannot be shut, in consequence of which the tongue protrudes in a waggish manner, at variance with the staring eye, which should, for the sake of consistency, be slightly closed, with a tendency to wink.

When the great majority of our party had furnished themselves with three or four of these prepossessing animals each, which were confined in kennels formed of paper screens up in our loft, the consequences to an unhappy victim like myself, who had resisted their charms, were most trying. They used to demolish their paper kennels with their teeth, quarrel with each other, howl dismally during the still hours of the night, or have spasms. They were subject to weakness and violent cramp in the loins and hind-legs, and then their owners used to devote the small hours of the morning to fomenting them with hot water, and wrapping them in warm flannels. In spite of all their efforts, some of these delicate little creatures died, to the inexpressible grief of those who had listened so often to their nocturnal whinings. Even in Yedo, the price of a handsome pair of these dogs is as much as fifty or sixty dollars; so that it is worth while to sit up at night to alleviate their sufferings.

In accordance with the arrangement arrived at on the preceding day, the six Commissioners appeared a little before luncheon, in order to exhibit their full powers, and enter upon the preliminaries of the Treaty. They were dressed in the official costume used upon state occasions, and which was remarkable for its simplicity. The fashion and colour of their garments are all prescribed by a rigid code of official etiquette. A pale straw-colour is considered full dress; this, combined with pale or dark blue and

black, are the orthodox colours on state occasions. On gala-days their costume is somewhat more gaudy and fantastic. We had an opportunity, before leaving, of seeing them thus attired; on their ordinary official visits, however, they wore a sort of undress or riding costume. This differs from full dress in the cut of the trousers, which admit of the legs being widely separated, an impossible achievement in their best clothes. They also, in riding, dispense with the light gauze sort of habit-shirt, which is thrown over the rest of the costume, and, projecting at the shoulder like wings, falls in long bands in front. In formal salutations, it is the correct thing to stoop until the ends of these bands touch the ground.

The Japanese seldom wear anything on their heads, except when riding. The head is shaved on the crown, and the side and back hair brought forward in a roll about the thickness of a small sausage to the top of the forehead; here it is firmly gummed down with a species of bandoline, in the manufacture of which the Japanese are very proficient. Wigs are common in the shops, but are only worn as a part of a masquerade dress. Not a particle of hair is ever



A Japanese Wig

allowed to appear upon their faces. The winter costume consists in robes cut like dressing-gowns, padded throughout with silk wadding. These unwieldy articles of attire are also used upon state occasions, and are a standing item in the list of Imperial presents to a foreign mission. But the most singular portion of their apparel are the trousers which they wear at their audiences with the Tycoon; they seem to be cut upon a principle precisely the opposite to that which regulates our Court-dress. We consider that when we have brought our nether garments down to the knee, we have not only satisfied decency, but reached the highest pitch of refinement and elegance. The great object of the Japanese is to create an entire misconception in the mind of the spectator as to the situation of that important joint; he wishes it to be supposed that he shuffles into the royal presence on his knees; but finding that process attended with much practical inconvenience, he compromises the matter by having his trousers made about eighteen inches longer than his legs; by these means his feet are made to represent his knees, and he is enabled to walk upon them comfortably with his sham legs dragging after him.

The Commissioners brought us the intelligence that, the Tycoon being childless, he had within the last few days adopted a son. This lad was to be his successor; and in the event of his subsequently having a son of his own, he would be

compelled to give him away rather than dispossess the adopted one. The choice of adoption is confined to the sons of six of the Princes of the Blood. What amount of truth there was in this information, we had not at the time any opportunity of judging.

Before proceeding to work, our guests sat down with great readiness to luncheon, and made formidable inroads upon the ham, the dish of all others which they most highly appreciate. They also indulged freely in champagne; indeed, so conscious were they of the risk attending these libations preparatory to entering upon business, that Higo facetiously expressed a hope that the Treaty would not taste of ham and champagne.

After luncheon we adjourned to Lord Elgin's sitting-room, where his Excellency and the Commissioners seated themselves round the table and mutually exhibited their full powers. While some necessary details involved in this process were being transacted, Mr Bedwell took the opportunity of making the characteristic and truthful drawing which forms the frontispiece to this volume,—a fact which Higo no sooner remarked, than, seizing a pencil and paper, he proceeded to caricature the artist, and suddenly interrupted the proceedings by triumphantly producing a very fair attempt at a likeness.

Now that we had really settled down to work, everybody lighted a pipe or a cigar, and although,

as regarded from a red-tape point of view, the general aspect of the scene may have been somewhat informal, a great deal of business was accomplished. It was necessary, however, to get over a difficulty in the first instance, arising from the necessity which the Commissioners felt of being watched. It was an unnatural thing for them to transact business except in the presence of Government and private spies, so they formally requested that a certain number of these gentry should be allowed to be present during the conferences. This was of course objected to by Lord Elgin, his Excellency remarking that there were already six Japanese Commissioners to one English Minister, and that any further accession of force on the other side would be manifestly quite unfair. On which the Commissioners neatly enough replied, "that it did indeed take six Japanese heads to cope with such an English head as they saw before them, and that, in fact, they felt quite unequal to the task." The matter was ultimately compromised by the presence of one secretary being allowed in addition to the indispensable Moriyama.

We were now able to enter upon the body of the Treaty, and very soon discovered that the Commissioners manifested the greatest acumen in the discussion of points of detail, never resting satisfied until they thoroughly comprehended the *rationale* of every question raised. Once, indeed, so serious a difficulty arose, that, to create a diversion, some one proposed

that we should have some cha (tea), upon which Lord Elgin suggested cha-*pagne*, an amendment which caused infinite merriment, and which was carried by acclamation. The Japanese have a keen appreciation of the ludicrous, and many a knotty point was solved by *bon mot;* indeed, to judge by the perpetual laughter in which they indulge, they are for ever making jokes. Higo was the wit of the party, and was often in consequence not only inattentive himself, but apt to distract the attention of the others. It was evident in the twinkle of his eye when he was meditating a pun. His observations, nevertheless, upon business matters, whenever he condescended to make them, were always shrewd and to the point. The following are the names of the six Commissioners, as written down by him in the English character upon a fan which he presented to me. The spelling is his own.

1. Midjmats-ko-goni-kami (formerly Governor of Nagasaki).
2. Nagai Gembono-kami (the Admiral).
3. Inogge Sinanono-kami (Governor of Simoda).
4. Iwase Higo-no-kami.
5. Holi Olibeno-kami.
6. Tsuda-handzoboro.

The Admiral was the most intelligent and active member of the party; and when he and the ex-Governor of Nagasaki were agreed, the rest seldom failed to follow their lead.

Altogether we had every reason to be satisfied with the result of our first day's conference; it inaugurated a series of meetings invariably characterised by the utmost harmony and good-humour, and which must recall to the memory of those who participated in them many agreeable associations and pleasant reminiscences.

CHAPTER VIII.

A RIDING-PARTY—BEAUTY OF THE SUBURBS—A PLEASANT TEA-HOUSE—TEA-GARDENS AT HOJEE—A PICTURESQUE PICNIC—INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS OF A TEA-HOUSE—A BATHING-ROOM—SCENERY OF THE INTERIOR OF JAPAN—THE BOTANICAL GARDENS—A VISIT TO THE PRIME MINISTERS—THE COMMISSIONERS AT LUNCHEON—"THE SCOUNDREL"—SCHOOLS AT YEDO—LINGUISTIC ACQUIREMENTS OF THE JAPANESE—SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION—JAPANESE LITERATURE—THE POSTAGE SYSTEM—THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE: ITS CONSTRUCTION—UNIVERSAL USE OF PAPER—INGENUITY OF THE JAPANESE.

It had been arranged with the Commissioners that Lord Elgin should make a trip into the country upon the day following the exchange of full powers. Our destination was a summer resort, about ten miles distant, called Hojee, where pretty scenery, botanical gardens, and well-appointed tea-houses were the attractions. Accordingly, immediately after breakfast, our steeds appeared at the door, and we started off, a party of eight or ten, in that enjoyable frame of mind which is produced by pleasurable anticipations. For the first four or five miles our way led us through the town along the castle moat, past the point at which we again obtained a panoramic view of the

city, and on through more winding streets, which we had not before explored, and which seemed interminable. At last we got clear of the more crowded thoroughfares, and found ourselves traversing pleasant suburban lanes, passing the spacious palace of the most powerful prince in the Empire, Kaganokami. The outer walls of this establishment enclose an immense area of ground, and contain buildings which are said to afford accommodation to ten thousand men. The groves of lofty trees which towered above the walls, gave token of the beauty of the gardens within them. Many of the streets and roads which we traversed were lined with peach and plum trees: at the period of the year when these are in full blossom, they must form a most charming and fragrant avenue.

We were filled with astonishment and delight at the exquisite taste displayed in the gardens and cottages upon the roadside. No model estate in England can produce "cottages ornées" comparable to those which adorn the suburbs of Yedo. We always fail in our detail: there is a want of that minuteness which the Chinaman glories in until he becomes grotesque. The Japanese have hit the happy medium. With an elaborate delicacy of detail, they combine the art of generalisation in design, so that the relation of the parts with the whole is maintained throughout, and the general effect is not sacrificed to minor beauties. These charming little cottages, raising their thatched roofs amid the fruit-

trees and creepers which threatened to smother them in their embraces, were surrounded by flower-beds tastefully laid out, resplendent with brilliant hues, and approached by walks between carefully clipped hedges. Yew-trees, cut into fantastic shapes, and dwarfed trees, extending their deformed arms as if for assistance and support, are favourite garden ornaments. Here and there, at the end of a long avenue, we could discern a temple embowered amid trees; and ancient priests, in gauzy and transparent costume, with broad embroidered belts and sashes, and enormous lacquered hats, would hurry to the entrance to watch the strangers pass. The beauty of the cemeteries was in keeping with the taste displayed in everything else; here walks wound amid flowering shrubs and drooping cypresses.

We could always judge of the respectability of the quarter through which we passed by the size and character of the crowd which accompanied us. In some parts of the suburb we were followed by a noisy mob, who pressed upon us, cheering and laughing—not, however, showing any signs of ill-will. Some of our party, on the previous day, not attended by a sufficiently large body of policemen to inspire awe, passing through some of the less reputable parts of the town, had been hooted, and even pelted, the crowd calling out, "Chinamen, Chinamen! have you anything to sell?"—a circumstance for which the Commissioners never ceased apologising; while they took occasion to impress upon us the necessity, which

we were always anxious to forget, of never moving about unless accompanied by a proper staff of police. Upon this occasion we were attended by twenty officials; in a black gauze uniform, who marched in front of us. As we were desirous not to lose time, and our steeds were willing, some of the elder members of this party were knocked up before we got to the half-way tea-house, where we changed our escort.

As we got farther from town, the cottages became more scattered, but the country did not lose its air of civilisation. Groves of tall trees overshadowed the road, apparently bordering some ornamental grounds, for they were enclosed by palings exactly resembling those of our own parks.

The tea-house at which we stopped to rest was situated in a garden where sparkling water gushed out of mossy grottoes, and quilted mats invited to repose. Here pipes and tea were served by fair damsels, who also pressed upon our acceptance unripe pears. Beyond this tea-house we found ourselves fairly in the country: we had exchanged the suburbs of London for the lanes of Devonshire.

Although the country was undulating, the road was neither too steep nor too narrow for wheeled vehicles. Sometimes it passed between high banks crowned with hedgerows and shrubs, among which I observed the holly. With the exception of groves of trees, left doubtless for a special purpose, and which served to diversify the prospect, every acre of ground seemed cultivated. This is probably partly in consequence

F.C.B. BEDWELL, DELT.

M. & N. HANHART, LITH.

TEA GARDENS NEAR YEDO.

of a law compelling every man to cultivate his land within the year, upon pain of forfeiting it. Fields of yams and egg-plant or brinjall, of beans and Indian-corn, millet and onions, alternated with each other in rapid succession. At every clump of trees through which the road passed, were resting-places for all classes of travellers; simple benches under the gnarled branches of some venerable oak or plane tree for humble wayfarers, and little tables with fruit and tea set out in the cool shade; or summer-houses, composed of a single hut, with the same invariable beverage hot and ready to refresh the thirst of the weary pedestrian; or an establishment of greater pretensions, where men of rank might stay and rest.

At last we suddenly descended into a dell where a charming village lay embosomed in a wood. It consisted of a few cottages, and a tea-house on a grand scale. At the entrance to this establishment we dismounted, much to the edification of the whole population of the village, who assembled to stare and wonder at us. We found the tea-house situated on the edge of a brawling stream, the balconies of the upper rooms overhanging the water. Hanging woods and gardens, tastefully laid out with rock-work, and yew-trees cut into quaint shapes, fringed the bank of the river to the point at which it entered the grounds in a picturesque cascade. Taking possession of a summer-house perched on a projecting point, and which commanded a charming view of the surrounding objects, we signified to a group of young ladies—

who came to look at us under the pretext of waiting for orders—our desire to be furnished with some luncheon.

We were not kept long in waiting for our meal, which consisted of some excellent vegetable soup, and some rice and fish. By way of dessert we had marsh-melons, apricots, and pears; so that we had no difficulty in satisfying the cravings of hunger. We found that these gardens were a favourite resort of pleasure-parties from Yedo of the highest rank. When any grandee wishes to enjoy a domestic treat of this sort, accompanied by his wife and family, he gives a previous notice of his intention to the keeper of the tea-house, so that a dignified privacy may be secured to him. There, screened from the vulgar gaze, he and his companions give themselves up to the enjoyment which this species of recreation affords. Their wives play, dance, or sing for their benefit; in fact, so far as I could gather, they behave very much as we do when we are working off the fag-end of the season in picnics to the Star and Garter, or Hampton Court. I was not able to discover, however, under what conditions the unmarried members of society were allowed to partake of these amusements.

If any aristocratic picnic was going on during our visit to Hojee, we were not fortunate enough to get a glimpse of it. We did, nevertheless, explore the internal economy of the establishment. Unfortunately, it not being the custom for the guests to go into the kitchen, I was ignominiously expelled from that de-

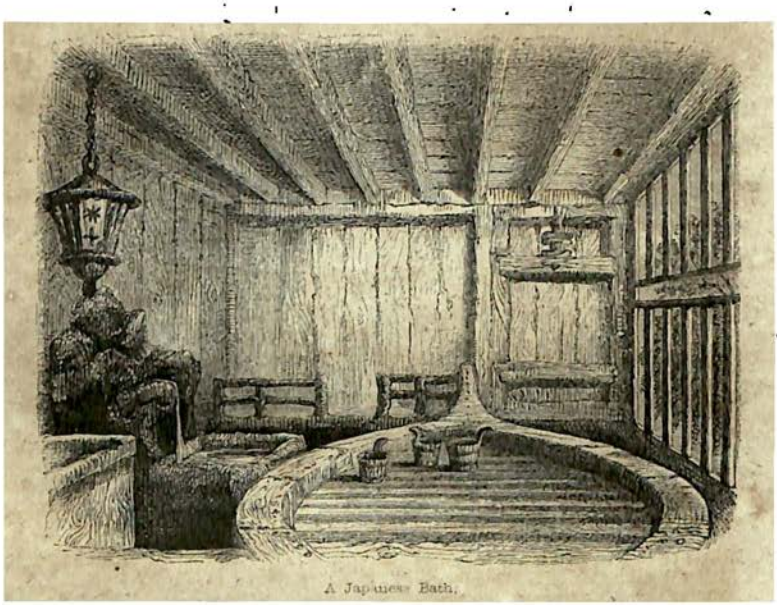
TEA GARDENS NEAR YEDO.
(Japan)

partment just as I was commencing my investigations into the arrangements by which so large a number of guests were kept constantly supplied with every description of Japanese delicacy, and tea in rivers. I had only time to find myself encompassed by a bevy of active, bustling waitresses, and to catch sight of huge steaming caldrons, when a strong-minded old woman showed me the door with a soup-ladle. The accompanying illustration, taken on the spot by Mr Bedwell, will convey a better idea than any description of the interior of the public rooms, and of the costume of the attendants. The complexions of many of these girls were quite as fair as those of our own countrywomen. In waiting, their manners are graceful and respectful. Almost everything is served in lacquer, and is presented in a reverential attitude. The guests sit dotted about on the mat till they have done dinner, when they lie down to smoke, sip tea, and digest. According to Golownin, the varnish with which the lacquer is composed is poison. Not only is it perfectly free from any injurious effect on this account, but, although the hottest tea may be served in lacquer cups, it is impossible to detect the slightest flavour of the varnish.

Whether the tea of Japan is actually superior to that of China, or only prepared in a different way, I had no opportunity of judging; but the flavour struck me as much more delicate. According to Siebold, the plant is manured with dried anchovies, and a liquor pressed out of mustard-seed.

One method of preparing the tea is by keeping it constantly boiling. Enough of tea-leaves are put into the kettle for the day's consumption, and the decoction is never taken off the fire. This is, however, generally only used at wayside refreshment-houses.

We did not observe any of it growing, as it is said that the plantations are generally remote from the habitations of men, lest they should be injured by smoke, or any other deleterious emanations.



A Japanese Bath.

Attached to the tea-house was a bathing-room containing a singular oval depression in the floor, to which the bathers confine themselves during their ablutions, as outlets are constructed for the escape of the water. Hot water is abundantly provided, while

the cold flowed in a perpetual cascade from a green grotto in the wall.

Leaving Hojee, we rode up to the brow of the hill behind the village. To do so it was necessary to diverge from the highroad and gallop across a green-sward dotted with handsome park-like trees. Our attendants, not prepared for this sudden escapade, ran breathlessly after us, vehemently remonstrating, and passing their hand across their throats, as an indication that our transgression would be visited upon them with summary punishment; but our curiosity to obtain a view from our elevated position overcame our scruples on their account, and we were well repaid for our want of humanity. The prospect upon which we feasted our gaze more nearly resembled that from Richmond Hill than any other with which I am acquainted. Beneath us was a winding river, now hidden among thick woods, now shining in the broad light of day as it emerged upon grassy fields. Beyond, as far as the eye could reach, the country was richly cultivated and charmingly diversified, while here and there the smoke of a town or hamlet imparted an air of animation to the view. It was a most tantalising sight, and we longed to explore the unknown scenes which lie still unvisited in the heart of this magnificent country.

It is some consolation to know that the interior of Japan will in all probability, ere long, be laid open. By the late Treaty it is reserved to the Consul-General and his immediate staff, and to them

alone, to travel to any part of the Empire. We know, from the accounts of the Jesuits and the Dutch missions, how many objects of interest there are at Miaco, and other places upon the main route to Nagasaki; but our curiosity has been chiefly stimulated by the illustrations contained in the Japanese picture-books of the most striking features in their scenery. The Japanese are one of the few so-called uncivilised nations who really seem to have an intuitive appreciation of the picturesque. Even the Chinese, who occasionally venture upon representations of scenery, choose some uninteresting subject, and invariably make it subservient to a scene of domestic or military life in the foreground, displaying, moreover, an entire ignorance of perspective; but the Japanese portray the grandest scenic features of their country evidently for their own sake alone. Waterfalls and precipices, picturesque villages perched on overhanging cliffs, or rocky ledges running out into the sea, are favourite subjects, and executed with a much more correct notion of art than has been attained in the sister Empire. From the views which many of these books contain, there must be scenery in Japan worth a pilgrimage to that distant island, were it for no other purpose but to visit it. Even our followers seemed to think it natural that we should wish to linger on the green edge of the hill, to take a long last look at the widespread prospect before us; but they were evidently relieved when we slowly turned our horses' heads into the

narrow path which was to lead us to the botanical gardens.

A thick grove of overhanging trees afforded a grateful shade from the rays of the August sun, while little wicket-gates opened off it into gardens that formed a setting of flowers to the cottages in their midst. The botanical gardens themselves did not exactly correspond to our notions on the subject. There were neither fine old trees in great variety, nor a large and curious collection of all descriptions of plants. The rage of horticulturists in this country seemed to be grasses, mosses, and ferns of all sorts, added to which there was an extensive assortment of dwarfed trees. Instead of glass greenhouses, there were long mat-sheds for the more delicate specimens; while ranged upon stands, as in England, were quantities of porcelain pots of various shapes and colours, but generally blue, with a piece of rock in the centre, and a root of grass or moss growing round it. But a Japanese gardener chiefly prides himself upon his skill in dwarfing. The most venerable forest-trees may here be seen in flower-pots, their old stems, gnarled and twisted as if writhing under the torture of distortion, perhaps scarce two feet high, while their unnatural branches spread out laterally like the fingers of a deformed hand. One of the Dutch Factory told a story of a box three inches long by two broad, containing a fir-tree, a bamboo, and a plum-tree in full blossom, which was sold for a sum equal to twelve hundred dollars. There was a pine wood behind the

gardens, with some pleasant retreats in it, and artificial hillocks crowned with summer-houses. These gardens are also a very favourite resort for picnics from Yedo.

Once more swinging ourselves into our uncomfortable saddles, we jogged home, a weary three hours' ride; but we had been amply repaid for our fatigue by the novelty and interest of the day's experiences.

On the following morning we paid another visit to the chief Ministers of State, as Lord Elgin wished to make further arrangements with reference to the delivery of the yacht, and to introduce Captains Barker and Osborn, and Commander Ward, in whose charge she had come out from England. The ceremony differed in no respect from that of the previous occasion, except that it took place in the daytime. The Ministers were anxious to know the difference between a man-of-war and a yacht; and then there was some discussion as to the salute which should be fired by the Japanese, they having never, upon any previous occasion, saluted a foreign flag. The Ministers took the opportunity of expressing, on behalf of the Tycoon, his regret at not being able to see Lord Elgin; but it was suggested that his Excellency might have an audience with his son, a lad of thirteen years of age. This proposal Lord Elgin did not deem it expedient to accept.

We reached home just in time to receive the Commissioners for luncheon. They expressed themselves extremely embarrassed at always arriving at our

luncheon hour—"they really could not think of partaking of any to-day—it would seem so very much as if they had come for ham and champagne." Lord Elgin, however, answered them, that no such suspicion had ever entered his head; and that unless the proper amount of ham and champagne had been consumed, it would be impossible to proceed with the Treaty. This argument seemed at once to decide them; and they had evidently fasted carefully, in order to a more thorough appreciation of the meal they pretended to repudiate. After luncheon, we had no difficulty in getting through fifteen articles, by which Moriyama was the only sufferer; for he was engaged in making duplicate copies in Japanese and Dutch. One day Lord Elgin asked him whether he had nearly finished copying the Treaty; but Moriyama was too good an interpreter to give a direct answer to any question in the presence of his superiors; so, turning to the Commissioners, he asked them, "Has Moriyama nearly finished copying the Treaty?" Upon which they gravely replied, after consultation with him, "No, Moriyama has not yet finished copying the Treaty, but he is getting on with it as fast as he can." When an inferior in Japan is in conversation with a superior, the correct posture for the former is to rest his hands upon his knees and remain slightly stooping—practically, this is abbreviated into a rapid slipping of the hand down the thigh to the knee, a gesture which Moriyama used constantly to perform, accompanying it with a

noisy inhalation of the breath, as if he had just sucked a sherry-cobbler through a quill, and was relishing it still.

But we made another acquaintance at Yedo even more noteworthy than Moriyama. He was popularly known as "the Scoundrel," but his real name was Tanjeram. This man appeared in our garden one evening, and astonished us all by speaking English without any perceptible accent, using very long words, and informing us that he was in the habit of taking lunar observations. He further asserted that he had never been out of Japan in his life, and that he acquired his knowledge of the English language at a school at Yedo. This school he described as being attended by Japanese desirous of learning foreign languages, which they were taught by professors, who had qualified themselves by study for the purpose. With all our respect for the intelligence and advancement of the Japanese, this was rather more than we could accept, and we could gain no corroborative testimony on the subject, so that I have no doubt it was a pure piece of invention on the part of Tanjeram, who had evidently by some accident or other passed some years of his life in the United States. He stoutly denied that such was the case, and he spoke with a slight nasal twang, making use of expressions which he certainly must have acquired from a professor who had studied the "American" and not the English language. The expression of his face was totally different from that of any other Japanese

I ever saw. There was a mixture of cunning and insolence in his manner foreign to the nature of his countrymen, and which indisputably proved that he had lived long enough abroad to substitute the manners of Western civilisation for those of Japanese barbarism.

But although we took leave to doubt the existence of professors of European languages at Yedo, there is no question about the advanced state of education, and its wide diffusion throughout the Empire. Dutch is certainly taught at Yedo as well as at Nagasaki; and pupils who have studied the latest mechanical and scientific inventions at the latter place under the Dutch, come to the capital as teachers. Thus they are competent to manage their own steam-engines, and to navigate their own ships, working their course by observation. They are extremely sensitive at being supposed incapable of acquiring any branch of knowledge which is possessed by others, and have a very high estimate of their powers in this respect. This was amusingly illustrated in a discussion which took place as to the language which should hereafter be the medium of official correspondence. "Oh," said one of the Commissioners, "you had better make English the official language; there is no telling how long it will be before you will be able to write a despatch in Japanese; but give us five years, and we shall be quite competent to correspond with you in English." This affords a striking contrast to our experience at Tientsin, where we found such

difficulty in inducing the Chinese to accept the English as the official language, even as a prospective arrangement—one, indeed, which I have little hope of ever seeing carried out; for even if a Chinaman could be induced to study a foreign language, he is so utterly destitute by nature of the faculty of acquiring any tongue but his own, that a lifetime would be spent in the vain attempt. During the whole period of my stay in China, I did not meet a single native who could speak, read, and write English correctly.

In Japan, on the other hand, there is a rage for the acquisition of every description of knowledge. A Chinaman thinks that any study but that of the Confucian books is degrading, and treats every modern invention with an air of calm contempt. Probably he contends that the art has long been known in China; so that if you were to show him a railway, he would most likely say, "Hab got alo same that Pekin side, only two tim more chop chop can go."* A Japanese, on the other hand, is full of zeal and curiosity. He examines and asks questions about everything within his reach, carefully noting the answers.

Père Charlevoix says, that in the time of Xavier there were in the neighbourhood of Miako four academies, at each of which education was afforded to between three and four thousand pupils, adding, that considerable as these numbers were, they were quite

* *Anglicè*—We have got the same at Pekin, only it goes twice as quickly.

insignificant in comparison with the numbers instructed near the city of Bandone, and that such institutions were universal throughout the Empire. Mr Macfarlane, quoting from M. Meylan, a more recent authority, states that children of both sexes and of all ranks are invariably sent to rudimentary schools, where they learn to read and write, and are initiated into some knowledge of the history of their own country. To this extent, at least, it is considered necessary that the meanest peasant should be educated.

From this account, which was corroborated by all I could gather upon the subject, it will appear that a more widely-diffused system of national education exists in Japan than in our own country; and that in that respect, at all events, if in no other, they are decidedly in advance of us. Often in passing along the streets I heard the pleasant babble of children learning their lessons.

Closely connected with this subject is that of the literature of the country; but upon this head it was difficult to collect information—still more so to obtain books. Although book-stalls were numerous, and their contents were temptingly displayed towards the street, whenever we approached one a general scramble invariably took place to secure the contents. It was evident that a Government order had been issued not to sell books to the strangers; and although our attendants used to pretend to assist us in procuring them, we used to discover them secretly abetting the shopkeepers. Once when I seized a

great prize—a map of a province in the Empire—it was snatched from me by an old lady who had the fear of Government very vividly before her eyes, so that I only carried off a small fragment. Still, by soft speeches and perseverance, we managed to pick up a good many picture-books. One of these, illustrative of various trades in Japan, was a most interesting study. The annexed woodcut gives some idea of the graphic character of the drawings. Most of the books which I obtained, written in Japanese, were of little use, as nobody could read them; but I procured one or two bulky volumes in the Chinese character. According to the Dutch authors, Japanese literature generally comprises works of science, history, biography, geography, travels, moral philosophy, natural history, poetry, the drama, and encyclopedias—a very goodly catalogue, if it be a correct one.

Coopers at Work (from a native drawing.)

Besides the books containing nothing but pictures

A WINTER SCENE IN JAPAN.
From a Japanese Drawing

are works of fiction illustrated with woodcuts, the engravings being made upon the same blocks with the type. It is said that recently the art of engraving on copper has been introduced.

Though ignorant of the art of painting in oils, the Japanese are skilful in the management of water-colours, and some of their coloured prints are life-like

Group of Horses (from a native drawing.)

and characteristic. They are generally in a regular sequence, and the thread of a story is to be followed throughout. I procured one book containing a series of sketches of groups of horses, in crayon, drawn with much spirit and artistic talent.

We may fairly presume that the Japanese are a reading people; and from all I could learn, the fair sex were not behind their lords in the improvement of their minds. Golownin bears testimony to this fact. "The Japanese," he says, "are extremely fond

of reading. Even the common soldiers, when on duty, were continually engaged with books. This passion for literature, however, proved somewhat inconvenient to us, as they always read aloud in a tone of voice resembling singing." They are also almost as fond of writing notes to each other as if they rejoiced in the luxury of a penny-post. Although they have not made that important discovery, an organisation does exist for the transmission of letters from one end of the Empire to the other, of the most perfect description. The letter-carrier is always attended by a companion, to guard against the chances of sickness or accident delaying the regular postman. These men are constantly relieved, each stage being performed at their utmost speed. I once met one of these carrying his packet and dashing along with a vehemence which induced me to inquire what his errand could be. He was, however, alone: probably it is not considered necessary for town postmen to run in couples.

The Japanese write, like the Chinese, in columns, from the top to the bottom of the paper, beginning at the right-hand side. The character is less fantastic and far more running than the Chinese. There is, indeed, not the slightest similarity between the languages, the one being monosyllabic and the other polysyllabic. The Japanese words are often of unconscionable length, but the sounds are musical, and not difficult to imitate; whereas the Chinese words, though of one syllable, consist generally of a gulp or

a grunt, not attainable by those whose ears have not become thoroughly demoralised by a long residence in the country. We learnt more Japanese words in a week than we had of Chinese in a year; and in making a small rough vocabulary I found no difficulty in so allocating the letters of the English alphabet as to convey to my memory a fair representation of the sound I wished to recollect. In Chinese this is quite impossible. Klaproth says, in his *Asia Polyglotta*, that the Japanese language is so dissimilar from all known languages in structure, grammar, and every characteristic, that the nation who speak it must be a distinct race. It is impossible to see them and not to arrive at this conclusion, on other grounds besides the construction of their language. That they originally sprang from the same Mongol stock, the descendants of which now form a large proportion of the population of China, seems to be generally admitted; but the peopling of Japan was, in all probability, an event prior to the first Mongol invasion. Their features differ essentially from the Chinese type. Their noses are not so broad and flat, and their eyes are more prominent and not so oblique. Altogether, the cast of countenance is far more agreeable. Those of our party who had visited the South Sea Islands, found in the Japanese many points of resemblance with the natives of that archipelago. It would be interesting to discover whether any similarity existed also in their language.

The student of Japanese will possess one great ad-

vantage over the victim condemned to the acquirement of the tongue of the Celestials, inasmuch as he starts with the benefit of an alphabet, or rather a syllabarium—an appendage to his language which a Chinaman despises. The Chinese character is, nevertheless, constantly to be seen on sign-boards and the walls of buildings. It is read by educated Japanese, but with a pronunciation which a Chinaman would find it difficult to understand. Nor does the character always represent to the Japanese mind the idea which it would convey to the natives of the Celestial Empire. The difference in pronunciation may be accounted for by the fact that the Japanese also attempt to render the Chinese sounds by means of their own alphabetic symbols. It would, indeed, appear that there are two distinct languages in vogue in Japan, called the Yomi and Kaye, of which the former is the national and popular tongue, and the latter Chinese, with a Japanese pronunciation. This is a subject, however, upon which our information is scanty; but with our present establishment of students at the new ports, we shall ere long have abundant light thrown upon this most interesting field of investigation. The student would do well to follow the example of the Japanese in one respect, and carry about with him a note-book. Every Japanese wears on a string round his waist a little portable inkstand: this is usually neatly lacquered, and contains one pen, or rather brush, and a little water-tight compartment for ink: in his bosom are

many sheets of paper, either separately or made into the form of a note-book. Our metallic note-books were always subjects of envy and curiosity, and the merits of india-rubber bands were duly appreciated.

We found, on the other hand, no less interest in examining the various uses to which they apply that most essential item in their wants—paper. It constituted the walls of our rooms and the fans that were in universal vogue; it was the wrapping of every purchase, and furnished the string with which it was afterwards tied. In square pieces it was used as pocket-handkerchiefs, and, pressed together and lacquered, it was worn as hats: it was of every consistency, thick and coarse and full of impurities, or thinner and more transparent than the finest tissue-paper, but always wonderfully tough. As it is prepared from the bark of the mulberry-tree, this is not to be wondered at. The younger branches furnish the whitest paper. The process consists in boiling down the bark and straining it through a sieve, when it is mixed with rice, and the water is gradually drawn off. The pap-like substance is then spread carefully out into sheets, pressed between boards, and laid out in the sun to harden and dry. It is impossible to tear this paper against the grain; thin strips of it torn in the opposite direction, and rolled up, make tough and convenient pieces of string.

The more we saw of this singular and attractive people, the more we felt that though we on our side

had much to exhibit which astonished and delighted them; we were the greatest gainers, for the investigation of their manufactures and appliances, at once so original and ingenious, proved a never-failing source of interest and amusement.

Japanese Artist (from a native drawing.)

CHAPTER IX.

A JAPANESE FUNERAL—MODE OF DRESSING LADIES' HAIR—EXCELLENCE OF JAPANESE STEEL — CARVINGS IN IVORY — MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS—JAPANESE WAR-FANS—AN EXPEDITION INTO THE COUNTRY — A RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL — ELABORATE TATOOING — THE LOGOS RIVER—THE TEMPLE OF DAI CHEENARA—THE INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE—A SINGULAR POSTSCRIPT—SUMPTUARY LAWS — SINAGAWA — TAXATION IN JAPAN — THE CHARACTER OF THE LEGISLATION—JAPANESE MANAGEMENT OF CHILDREN—RESULTS OF OUR EXPERIENCE—JAPANESE LOVE OF PLEASURE—EFFECT OF CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS.

FOR the two or three days following our excursion to Hojee, our time was fully occupied with the Commissioners. Some of our guests, however, were enabled to employ themselves agreeably and profitably in riding about the town. Not far from our residence was a most tempting-looking temple, entered by a massive gateway at the end of an avenue which led to the base of a wooded hill, on the summit of which the gables of the building appeared amid the foliage. Some enterprising explorers made an ineffectual attempt to visit this attractive-looking spot, but were refused admittance in a manner rather too peremptory and abrupt to be consistent with the

uniform courtesy of the people generally. Upon this circumstance being mentioned to the Commissioners, they were as usual profuse in their apologies, but begged us not to press the point, as the temple in question was sacred to the manes of defunct Tycoons. This fact only stimulated our curiosity still further, but we refrained from urging a request which seemed distasteful. On another occasion, some of our party were fortunate enough to witness a Japanese funeral. In consequence of the corpse being placed in a sitting posture, the shape of the coffin is more that of a sedan-chair than an oblong case. It is preceded by servants and members of the establishment, and followed by priests and mourners in white, with norimons for the ladies, and policemen, as usual, to keep off the crowd. According to Siebold, the corpse is interred to funereal music, produced by striking copper basins.

We were so fortunate as to discover, not far from our abode, a small back-street, which was an unfailing resource, when time did not permit of an expedition into that part of the city which corresponds to the Borough of London. Here were a quantity of book-stalls, some shops containing very curious China, and a great variety of the peculiar manufactures of the country. The Japanese are a people plain and simple in their tastes, and as a rule eschewing ornaments. Those, however, in which the ladies indulge most freely are made of glass, in the fabrication of which into quaint devices the manufacturers

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M & N. HANHART, LITH.

JAPANESE FUNERAL.

are peculiarly expert. A favourite trick is to fill glass tubes of various shapes and patterns with coloured fluids. These are frequently used as hair-pins. Sometimes there is a globe at the end, in which the liquid may be detected by the air-bubble as it glances in the raven tresses of a Japanese belle. Most of the women wear their hair somewhat in the style which was in vogue among ourselves forty or fifty years ago—the back-hair being massively arranged, and skewered in various directions with glass ornaments. The female attendants in the establishments of princes are alone allowed to wear their hair *à l'Imperatrice*. It is singular that while the Japanese have brought the manufacture of glass to such perfection in certain forms—as, for instance, the most exquisitely-shaped bottles, so light and fragile that they seem as though they were mere bubbles, of every shade of colour, and beautifully enamelled with devices—plate-glass is unknown among them. Their looking-glasses are circular pieces of steel, polished so highly as to answer all the purposes of a mirror, and usually elaborately ornamented on the back.

The ornaments worn by the men are almost exclusively confined to the handles of their swords. These are generally gold, or of a composite metal called Syakfdo, consisting of gold and copper mixed with other metals, the effect of which is very beautiful. The device is generally the representation of some bird or animal, executed in the most perfect and finished style. In most cases the handles of the

swords are covered with shagreen, upon which these ornaments are bound with silk cord. The scabbards are either of leather or wood, beautifully lacquered, and the blades of steel of the rarest temper. I procured a pair for thirty dollars, which bore the edge of a razor; but the price was considered paltry; and a really good sword, such as, according to Fischer, can cut through a European sword without turning its edge, is of fabulous value. I afterwards learned that Baron Gros had obtained some of the finest swords which were to be procured at Yedo, and had paid in proportion.

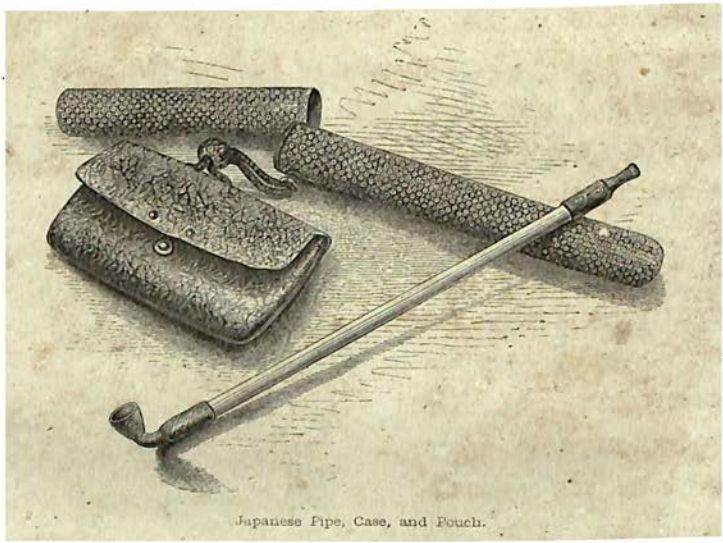
There can be no doubt that they have attained to the highest pitch of excellence in the art of tempering steel. Old Struys says of the manufacturers of swords in Japan: "They are grown famous in all the East for expert armourers, and temper steel better than the Chineezes, which far exceed the Europeans. Their swords are so well tempered that I have struck with one through an iron pin, of half an inch thick, without the least token of damage to the edge." At first we found great difficulty in persuading our attendants to procure us some swords to purchase; they even exhibited some reluctance to draw those they had on when informed that we wished to inspect them. There is some superstition connected with their sale to foreigners, as the exportation has heretofore been rigorously prohibited. Latterly, however, we completely overcame these scruples.

The same prohibition is laid upon the sale of gold,

and this we did not find it so easy to remove. Indeed, ornaments of pure gold were excessively rare; but we were consoled by the charming little wood and ivory carvings, which are extensively used by the dandies of Japan as appendages to their pipes, just as those of this country tie bundles of charms or chatelaines to their watch-chains. Some of these combine, with the utmost delicacy of execution, a keen sense of the ludicrous, and often represent objects highly characteristic of the people and their manners. The carvings in ivory I preferred to anything of the same description in China; they were the most expensive trifles which we discovered at Yedo. The pipes, to which these are attached by a silk cord, are worn buttoned on to the dress near the waist. The stem is generally composed of a reed, with a mouthpiece of brass or composite metal elaborately chased, and a bowl of the same material, but absurdly small to our Western notions. A pipe contains merely a whiff; a pinch of tobacco is rolled up to the size of a pea, and one long soothing inhalation completes the process: as in the East generally, the smoke is retained for some time in the lungs. The apparatus

Group from an Ivory Carving.

being constantly at hand, a Japanese will smoke fifty such pipes in a morning. The tobacco is of a pale-yellow colour, not unlike Turkish, except in being cut more finely, and having a more delicate flavour. The best tobacco is grown in the territories of the Prince of Satsuma, and the neighbourhood of Nagasaki. The plant was first introduced by the early Portuguese traders.



Japanese Pipe, Case, and Pouch.

Some of these shops were devoted to the sale of musical instruments, but they were somewhat cumbersome as curiosities. The most popular is the samsie or lute. It is played with a thin slip of wood, and is as necessary an accomplishment among the fair sex as the pianoforte is with us. Reed pipes, tomtoms, and flutes are also among the instruments we observed exhibited. Next door lived an old man, whose occupation consisted in the manufacture of

bows and arrows, which are still used as offensive weapons in war. Some of the bows were prettily lacquered.

A Samsie or Lute.

Perhaps, however, the most singular arm which the Japanese employ in the battle-field is the war-fan. This is a paper fan of a larger size than usual, the sheaths of which are made of iron, so that if, fatigued by a violent personal encounter, a warrior sits down for a moment to rest and cool himself, and is unexpectedly attacked, he immediately hits his enemy over the head with his fan. I endeavoured to obtain one of these; but they were only made to order, and were not completed when we left Yedo. The pattern on the fan is the national emblem, a red sun on a black ground—but the process of fanning oneself with an iron fan cannot be cooling. In strong contrast to these, is a description of fan made of a substance so thin and transparent that it resembles goldbeater's skin; nothing can be conceived lighter or pleasanter to use. The fan is an inseparable part of a Japanese dress. It is his shelter from the sun, his

note-book, and his plaything if it does not happen to be hot. Without it he is as much at a loss to know what to do with his hands, as an Englishman is at an evening party without his hat. There is so great a variety, that it would be quite an interesting occupation to take up the subject seriously, and make a collection.

On the 24th August we started on another riding expedition to the celebrated temple of Dai Cheenara, situated about ten miles from Yedo, towards Kanagawa. Our road, therefore, led in the opposite direction from that which we had followed upon the former occasion, and took us through the long western suburb that skirts the bay for a distance of five or six miles, first through the notorious quarter called Sinagawa which we saw to greater advantage on our return journey, then for half a league through Omogawa, and past a spot which was celebrated as the place for public executions: it was just on the outskirts of the town, in an aceldama where the grass was long and rank, and a monolith, eight or ten feet high, was surrounded by a stone bench, the victim's last seat. Generally criminals who have committed crimes worthy of death, forestall the public executioner, and save themselves the disgrace by hara-kiri. The ordinary mode of execution is decapitation. Titsingh, however, says that in some cases the torture is prolonged as much as possible, and the skill of the executioner is tested by the number of wounds he can inflict without causing death.

A little beyond this disagreeable locality, we come out upon pleasant rice-fields and wide areas of cultivation, divided by rows of trees, which are occasionally grouped in clumps. The country is perfectly level, the road broad and good, and lined with trees; wayfarers are abundant, generally on foot, but sometimes in the basket-chairs peculiar to the middle classes. Even after the town has ceased, houses are thickly dotted along the road. But our journey to-day is doubly interesting, because it happens to be a religious festival. The Japanese celebrate these about twice a-month, upon each occasion to do honour to some special divinity, or saint. One, indeed, is in honour of the devil, and originated in a dispute which for some time agitated the religious world in Japan as to the colour of his Satanic Majesty. One sect maintained it was black, another white, another red, and another green. The Mikado, deprived of the assistance of an ecclesiastical court, determined the matter in a manner worthy his infallible pretensions. He declared that the devil was of all these four colours at will—a decision which carried conviction to the minds of all. This is a story told by Meylan. Siebold, as I have before said, denies that the Japanese believe in a devil at all, while, according to Kæmpfer, their only idea of him is in the likeness of a fox. It did not occur to me to make inquiries upon the subject.

Another celebrated festival is the Feast of Lamps. When this takes place, processions of boats, brilliantly illuminated, move about the harbour, and produce a

striking effect. I have forgotten the name of the saint in whose honour the whole world was basking in the sun, doing nothing, when we went to Dai Cheenara, but the streets had never before seemed so crowded; flags waved from balconies, and strips of bright-coloured cotton, covered with characters, fluttered from poles; the women wore flowers in their hair, and the men had more on than usual. Some, however, denied themselves the benefit of dress, apparently for the purpose of exhibiting the brilliant patterns in which their skins were tatooed. One man had a monster crab in the small of his back, and a pretty cottage on his chest. It is rather fashionable to have scarlet fishes playing sportively between your shoulders. The scarlet tatooing presents a very disgusting appearance. The skin looks as if it had been carefully peeled off into the required pattern. On a really well tatooed man there is not an inch of the body which does not form part of a pictorial representation. If the general effect is not agreeable, it is perfectly decent, for the skin ceases to look bare, or like skin at all; it rather resembles a harlequin's costume. It must be dreadful to feel that one can never undress again. Yet what anguish does the victim undergo, in order to put himself into a permanent suit of red dye and gunpowder!

Of course, after we had completed a little more than half our journey, we stopped at a tea-house. The day was scorchingly hot. Riding in the sun on a lacquer-saddle, without an umbrella, in the middle

of August, is a process which makes one appreciate the merits of a tea-house. We find the coolest corner, stretch ourselves full-length on the soft mats, drink tea, eat fruit, smoke infinitesimal pipes, and get ourselves fanned into a comatose state by fair damsels, until the inexorable Tainoske tells us that the time is up, and that if we are to see the Temple we must once more brave the rays of the Japanese sun. So we are again *en route*, and jog on till we reach the Logos river, a deep stream about fifty yards broad, and which is chiefly noteworthy because it is named by the Treaty as the future limits of the rambles of the European community in this direction. Round every one of the new ports is a line of demarcation, beyond which it will not be permitted to Europeans to penetrate. This, as a general rule, comprises a radius of about twenty miles.

We were ferried across the Logos river, and found ourselves in the village of Kawasaki; after traversing which we are once more in the open fields, but our road has narrowed to a bridle-path, and it leads between neatly clipped hedges, along the margin of purling streams; past more cottages with steep thatched roofs: sometimes these are double; a sort of hood is constructed above the regular roof, which has deep overhanging eaves that are formed into verandahs. Here, as on the road to Hojee, the people love to bury themselves beneath creepers and flowering shrubs, but they do not neglect the essentials altogether. There are kitchen-gardens attached to

every establishment, with vegetables, and fruit-trees, and orchards, where the pears are trained on trellises like grapes. At last we reach a spacious pile of building, which is surrounded by a ditch, and a massive wall, surmounted by a paling, which is in its turn overshadowed by lofty trees.

The single street which composed the village was gay with flags and crowded with people; it led us straight up to the principal entrance to the temple, and the crowd thronged us as we pushed on, so that we were glad to get inside the gates, which were at once closed after us. But we were little better off here. The spacious court was filled with a dense crowd, who clustered on the broad flight of steps leading up to the temple.

In this court was a ponderous bell, swinging in a handsome belfry of carved wood, on a massive pedestal. In Japan the bells never have tongues or clappers, but are always struck from without by a piece of wood conveniently suspended. Near the principal flight of steps hung a large gong, while in the outer verandah were swinging paper lanterns, some of an oval shaep, ten or twelve feet in length by about six in breadth, and others like truncated columns.

The building itself was in the form of a shed, with very deep verandahs, slightly twisted gables, a steep roof, and substantial walls. The columns which supported the verandah were of wood, sheathed in copper at the base, while the capitol was ornamented with carved representations of lions.

Within the building were more similar columns. The wooden panels which formed the ceiling were elaborately carved, and abundantly ornamented with coloured lacquer, covered with pretty landscapes. In the space, enclosed by a railing, at the further end of which was the tiny image, were magnificent brass candelabras, elegantly shaped, so as to represent the sacred lotus. A profusion of brazen and tinsel ornaments almost concealed the minute god, seated on his table in the dim distance, in the centre of a screen which bore the Imperial arms. In the middle of the apartment a priest in green robes was performing service; assisting him was another in yellow; while some more in red were present as bystanders.

A Japanese Divinity (from a native drawing.)

The chief priest soon took an opportunity of coming up to Lord Elgin, with the polite intention of doing the honours of the establishment, but our means of communication were too limited to enable us to extract very much information from him. He was a man of mild amiable countenance, which did not, however, betoken a very high order of intellect.

Meantime the news had spread that beings of

strange aspect were in the temple, and when we emerged from it, the crowd had increased so much that we had some difficulty in remounting our steeds. By the time we reached Kawasaki, the fatigues of the day were beginning to tell upon us, and we felt that a meal was necessary to the restoration of our prostrate energies; so we took possession of the upper story of a tea-house, from the balcony of which we could look over the garden with its ponds and ornamental rockwork and artificial islands, and awaited the repast which it might please the cook to send us. We had faith in the never-failing rice and fish, and were not disappointed. To crown all, a breathless messenger appeared bearing a huge dish of pears—a present, from the priest of the temple we had just left, to Lord Elgin—a fact which was intimated in a note, which contained by way of an enclosure a piece of dried salt-fish. This singular accompaniment forms a recognised part of Japanese correspondence. It is the postscript to the letter, and the burden of it is: "Happy those who never depart from the wisdom of their ancestors." In other words: "Remember we were originally a nation of fishermen; let us not now become effeminate and luxurious, but recognise, in the enclosed slice of fish, the emblem of our former occupation; and let it recall to us the necessity of abstinence and frugality." Nor is the moral thus intended to be conveyed a mere piece of barren sentiment. It is the embodiment of an active principle in Japan, and accounts for that Spartan simplicity and

absence of display which characterises the natives. The aristocracy in their domestic arrangements are said to practise the utmost economy, and, except in obedience to official requirements or the claims of conventional etiquette, to avoid as much as possible all ostentation or personal extravagance.

Alluding to this striking feature in the national character, Thunberg says: "It is in Japan above all that I have found that wise and useful economy, which must not be confounded with avarice, and to which I do not hesitate to accord the name of virtue, because the opposite is one of the most disgusting of vices. This virtue is practised equally in the palace of the Emperor and in the hut of the pauper. The latter knows how to content himself with the little he possesses, while the rich man does not dissipate his wealth in a profusion at once hurtful to the poor man and fatal to the general wellbeing of society. Hence arises a happy ignorance of those two scourges so common amongst our wise European nations, scarcity and high prices, words for which it would be difficult to find synonyms in the Japanese language."

The rigid code of sumptuary laws which obtains in Japan, proscribing certain luxuries, and defining minutely the style of dress to be worn by each grade in the social scale, singularly illustrates the powerful influence which this marked national characteristic exercises over the community at large.

It was late in the afternoon ere we re-entered Sinagawa, and the streets seemed more crowded than

ever; but the most singular feature in this suburb is the houses of which it is composed, and the purpose to which they are dedicated. For at least a mile we rode between establishments organised on a most extensive scale. Deep verandahs, approached by flights of steps, seemed literally packed with the unfortunate victims of a system which is one of the most singular characteristics of the country.* While, however, it is impossible either to extenuate or to justify the toleration by society, or the countenance by Government, of an evil which must exercise so pernicious an influence upon all classes of the community, it is only fair to estimate at its true value the extent of that influence. It is impossible to compare the general social wellbeing of Japan with that of any other country, and not admit that, notwithstanding the existence of this peculiar development of immorality, it will gain by the contrast.

Universal testimony assures us that in their domestic relations the men are gentle and forbearing, the women obedient and virtuous. I will venture to assert that it is unknown in Japan for a man to knock down his wife and then stamp upon her, having previously driven her teeth down her throat with an iron bolt;—perhaps, because his wife has never, either by her intemperate habits, frail conduct, or abusive language, given him cause to do so; and so, in every department of crime, we have reason to believe that the amount of grave offences

* See Appendix.

committed against society is less in proportion to the population than that of other countries.

It is true that their criminal code is severe; but the best authorities on the subject state that there is an absolute impartiality in the infliction of punishment. The great principle upon which their legal system is based is the administration of equal justice, and the punishment which comes home to the rich as well as the poor man, with equal force, is death. This then is the penalty in most cases; but imprisonment and corporal punishment are also resorted to.

But it would appear, from Rundall's notes,* that the Japanese not only enjoy the advantage of a just and impartial administration of justice; they are still more highly privileged by exemption from taxation in the strict sense of that term. The territory of which the Empire consists is vested entirely in the Crown. The revenues are derived solely from the rents of the land, which vary according to the crops. There are assessors annually appointed, whose business it is to make the necessary valuation and adjust the respective rights of landlord and tenant. The land is held either directly under the Crown, or under the princes or nobles who have been invested by the Crown with territorial rights, and who in return pay rent, accompanied by the performance of certain feudal services. Tenants holding direct from the Crown pay to the Emperor's stewards four

* RUNDALL'S *Kingdome of Japonica* (Notes).

parts out of ten of the produce of the soil, whether of rice, corn, or pulse, reserving the residue for their own use. Such as hold under the prince pay six parts out of ten.

In cities a house-tax is levied. Houses, however, under ninety feet in length, are exempt from this impost. The same authority also states, that, though sanguinary in principle, the laws are greatly modified in practice. All the Dutch writers unite in extolling the excellence of the native tribunals, and their competence to deal with criminal, and give satisfaction in civil causes. Kæmpfer says, "I would not have the reader suppose that the Japanese live entirely without laws, far from it; their laws and constitutions are excellent, and strictly observed." Our information upon this subject is, however, not sufficiently ample to enable us to decide upon the extent of influence exercised by the administration of justice in the prevention of crime. Macfarlane, quoting Dutch authorities, after describing the safety of the roads, states, "This result is not all produced by legislations, severe laws, and municipal and police regulations; the Japanese, as a proud people, have a contempt or abhorrence of cheating, pilfering, stealing, or robbing." There are doubtless many causes operating to produce the same effect, but it would require a closer insight into the constitution of society, and character of the people, than we were able to obtain, to specify what they are. We could only judge by the result. As locks and keys did not exist, our rooms were open to

the incursions of any of the numerous attendants who swarmed about our lodgings, and though we left the most tempting English curiosities constantly displayed, yet we never had to complain of a single article missing, even of the most trifling value.

I thought it singular that, during the whole period of our stay in Yedo, I should never have heard a scolding woman, or seen a disturbance in the streets, although, whenever I passed through them, they were densely crowded. Upon no single occasion, though children were numerous, did I ever see a child struck or otherwise maltreated. Thunberg, who passed many years in Japan, mentions the same fact; and in a description of the Empire in the sixteenth century, from "The Firste Booke of Relations of Moderne States," Harleian MS. 6249, the following passage occurs: "They chastice their children with wordes onlye, and the' admonishe theire children when they are five yeares oulde, as yf the' weare oulde men." To our own knowledge, this mode of educating youth has been in existence for more than three centuries, and the result, according to universal testimony, is in the highest degree satisfactory. Kæmpfer, Charlevoix, and Titsingh, agree in saying that the love, obedience, and reverence manifested by children towards their parents is unbounded; while the confidence placed by parents in their children is represented to be without limit. Parents select their children to be arbitrators in their disputes with others, and submit implicitly to their decisions; it is also a constant

practice for parents to resign their state and property to a son when he shall have attained a suitable age, remaining for the rest of life dependent on him for support; and abuse of this trust is said to be unknown.

With the exception of one or two religious mendicants, I did not observe in this vast and populous city any beggars. Kæmpfer, however, records having seen them on the country roads. Deformed objects rarely met the eye — not a drunkard crossed our path, though from recent accounts revellers occasionally parade the streets of an evening. From the numbers of people marked with small-pox, that disease must rage with virulence in Japan, but the appalling sights so familiar in China are unknown there.

So in our daily intercourse with the Commissioners and our attendants, no instance occurred of any Japanese losing his temper, though it is impossible to suppose that, belonging to a race naturally proud and haughty, they were never tried. These were our experiences, but it does not by any means follow that those who live longer in the country may not have reason to change them. We left Japan thoroughly agreeing with old Kæmpfer, who, after a residence of many years there, thus sums up his estimate of the character of the people: "United and peaceable, taught to give due worship to the gods, due obedience to the laws, due submission to their superiors, due love and regard to their neighbours, civil, obliging, virtuous; in art and industry excelling

all other nations; possessed of an excellent country, enriched by mutual trade and commerce among themselves; courageous, abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life; and withal enjoying the fruits of peace and tranquillity." Xavier says as the result of his long missionary experience: "The Japanese, as far as I have been able to judge, surpass in virtue and in probity all other nations hitherto discovered. They are of a mild disposition, opposed to chicanery, covetous of honours, which they prefer to everything. Poverty is very common among them, but in no way discreditable, although they endure it with difficulty."

It cannot be denied that their good qualities are dimmed by sundry weaknesses, without which they would be more than human. They are notoriously vindictive, superstitious, haughty, exceedingly tenacious of their honour, and often cruel and unsparing in their mode of protecting or revenging it.

From what we saw of the habits of the people, we should be disposed to agree with those who charge them with being a somewhat frivolous and pleasure-loving race; but this has by no means the effect of rendering them effeminate. "The Japaneezes," says Struys, "are in general a very hardy people, and can endure any extremity of heat or cold, hunger or thirst, to a miracle. This they seem to come to by a hardy usage when young, for they always bathe their infants in cold water in rivers, and sometimes plunge them over head and ears in snow."

It would seem that, while physically robust, their minds are of a cultivated and dilettante order. They love not idleness, but occupations which are refined and congenial to their tastes. Commerce is considered by them a degrading pursuit; while literature and the fine arts, and scientific acquirements, are held in high estimation. It is a question whether that activity of mind and energy of character which finds expression in pleasure-parties and gala-days, is not far preferable to the apathetic indifference of a Chinese mandarin, who thinks gaiety undignified, active exercise a penance, and who only desires to be left alone with his pipes and women, wrapt in contemplation of the Taoli, and the red tape peculiar to the Board of Rites. One result of this difference between the habits and mode of feeling of the two nations is undoubtedly this, that whereas the Chinese are steadily retrograding, and will in all probability continue to do so until the Empire fall to pieces, the Japanese, if not actually in a state of progressive advancement, are in a condition to profit by the flood of light that is about to be poured in upon them, and to take advantage of those improvements and inventions which the Chinese regard with contemptuous scorn, but which the Japanese will in all probability, when they come to know us better, be both able and anxious to adopt.

It will be a happy thing for Japan if this light is not followed by a very thick darkness. In the mean time, it would be contrary to all our experience of

human nature to expect that the inauguration of our intercourse with a nation wedded to the habits and traditions of centuries, coming for the first time into contact with a civilisation so different from its own, will be unattended with difficulty.

CHAPTER X.

POPULATION OF YEDO — THE NIPON BAS — THE QUANON TEMPLE — A FAIR — AN AVIARY — A SINGULAR TABLEAU — THEATRICAL REPRESENTATIONS — TOY-SHOPS — ASTRONOMICAL SYSTEM — MOUNTAIN PILGRIMS — JAPANESE WRESTLERS — A CONJURING EXHIBITION — THE BUTTERFLY TRICK — THE COMMISSIONERS AT A DINNER-PARTY — AFTER-DINNER ENTHUSIASM — PRESENTS TO THE MISSION — CAPACIOUS DRESSING-GOWNS — LAST NIGHT IN YEDO.

THERE remained yet one section of the city unvisited. The whole of the eastern quarter, as distant from our abode as Blackwall is from Chelsea, was still a *terra incognita*. There was a celebrated temple to be seen here, and the far-famed Nipon Bas to be traversed in reaching it. This ride, taken in connection with our previously acquired knowledge of the extent of the town in the opposite direction, gave us some idea of the vastness of this gigantic city. It is difficult to form an estimate of the population it contains, as the people are more closely packed in some parts than in Western cities; while in the large area occupied by the princes' quarter, the population must be comparatively thin. Upon this occasion we rode at a fast walk for two consecutive hours between dense masses of people. We had done so the day before along the

continuation of the same street in the opposite direction. Kæmpfer, who visited Yedo during the early part of the last century, confirms our impressions upon the subject. "Yedo," he says, "properly the capital of the whole Empire, and the seat of the Secular Monarch, is so large that I may venture to say that it is the biggest town known. Thus much I can affirm from my own certain knowledge, that we were one whole day riding a moderate pace from Sinagawa, where the suburb begins, along the chief street, which goes across, a little irregularly indeed, to the end of the town."

Golownin has made a wild estimate of the population at 8,000,000. This is a statement worthy of Père Huc. Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, on the other hand, puts it at 700,000 ; but two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since the visit of the Spaniard. The present population would, in all probability, be found to exceed two millions. Yedo is built upon the banks of the Todagawa, at the point where that river debouches into the head of the Bay of Yedo. The principal part of the city is situated on the right bank. The river, expanding as it nears the sea, is, at a point at which it has attained a considerable breadth, spanned by the Nipon Bas, a bridge of enormous length, built on piles. It is notorious as the Hyde Park Corner of Japan—the point from which all the milestones throughout the Empire are numbered. Crossing it, we gradually emerged from the more densely crowded streets, and found ourselves at last

in a lane which presented all the appearance of a fair. Booths on each side displayed an infinite variety of toys, women's ornaments, prints, and playthings of every description. Crowds of idle loungers thronged the thoroughfare, at the end of which we could discern the massive proportions of the Temple rising among the trees, and towering above them and the peaked roofs of a five-storied pagoda. It was dedicated to Quanon, a popular divinity in Japan, though of Buddhist extraction, and imported from China. The most celebrated temple in honour of this deity is at Miako.

Passing under an entrance archway, the shops on each side were replaced by an avenue of handsome trees. This terminated in an open space which was densely crowded, as was the broad flight of steps leading up to the verandah. We heard a good deal of hooting and yelling, but it was not accompanied by pelting or other marks of ill-will, and was probably the result of excitement and exuberant spirits on the part of the more juvenile and least reputable part of the mob. They were always sufficiently civil to leave a small vacant space immediately round us. As we stood at the top of the steps, and looked down upon the sea of upturned faces gazing at us, I doubted whether the spectacle which we presented was as striking to them as their appearance was to us.

The interior of this temple did not differ materially from those we had already visited. It was the oldest and most cobwebby, and therefore, in an ecclesiastical

F. C. HARDWELL, DELT. M. & N. HANHART, LITH.

QWANON · TEMPLE
(Yedo)

point of view, the most respectable. The paper lanterns were more monstrous—some of them were at least twenty feet in height; I should think double that in circumference, and covered with characters. The temple was decorated with numerous pictorial representations; among others were depicted scenes of by no means a religious character, the originals of which were to be found in a neighbouring quarter, to which I have already alluded as the least reputable part of the city. We failed to perceive the connection between them and the holy rites to which the temple was dedicated.

In the gardens surrounding the building we had a still more striking illustration of this blending of the sacred with the profane. In all the grosser forms of superstition, it seems essential to the very existence of the religion that it should contain a strong infusion of the carnal and material element. So, while the priest inside was propitiating the many-armed deity in whose image he saw but the representation of a divine being, the congregation without were paying their devotions to peep-shows and pleasure-booths, which had been erected for their benefit in the temple-grounds.

These we now proceeded to explore. As we approached them, the tapping of tom-toms and shrill whistle of pipes gave token of gaiety and merry-making. The scene did not differ materially from an English fair. Aunt Sally, under divers modifications, seems to be a relative of the universe. It is worthy

of remark, however, that gambling is not allowed by the Government, or even games of cards. Here were people throwing sticks at marks, shooting arrows at so much a shot, looking into peep-shows through small slits in the canvass, or lounging through flower-booths. There was, indeed, a better show of flowers here, and more curious specimens of plants, than we had seen at Hojee; the gardens were more extensive and tastefully laid out, particular localities being set apart for grandees, from which the vulgar herd are excluded by cords stretched across the entrance.

To one of these we retired for rest and tea; then we proceeded to inspect an aviary which contained an extensive collection of birds interesting to the ornithologist. Unfortunately my knowledge of the subject does not warrant my venturing to describe them. There were pheasants, green pigeons, rice-birds, and tiny little flutterers, somewhat resembling avadavats. But the greater part were species with which I was not familiar.

One young bird, apparently moulting, and the most hideous specimen of the feathered tribe I had ever seen, I in vain endeavoured to purchase. It made a noise corresponding to its disgusting personal appearance—a wheezing spasmodic choke, as if it was in the last stage of suffocation, or subject to violent asthmatic attacks. They assured me it grew to a monstrous size, and would not hear of selling it for less than thirty dollars. It seemed scarcely worth while to pay so much for the privilege of having

an asthmatic companion saddled upon one for the remainder of the voyage. Lord Elgin, however, purchased a pair of very beautiful green pigeons, both of which arrived safely in this country. We now went to examine the shows in the fair. The discordant jangle of musical instruments is resorted to in Japan, as in England, to entice the passers-by into entering the mysterious precincts. We could not resist the inducement, the ever-ready Tainoske, as usual, settling all our pecuniary liabilities.

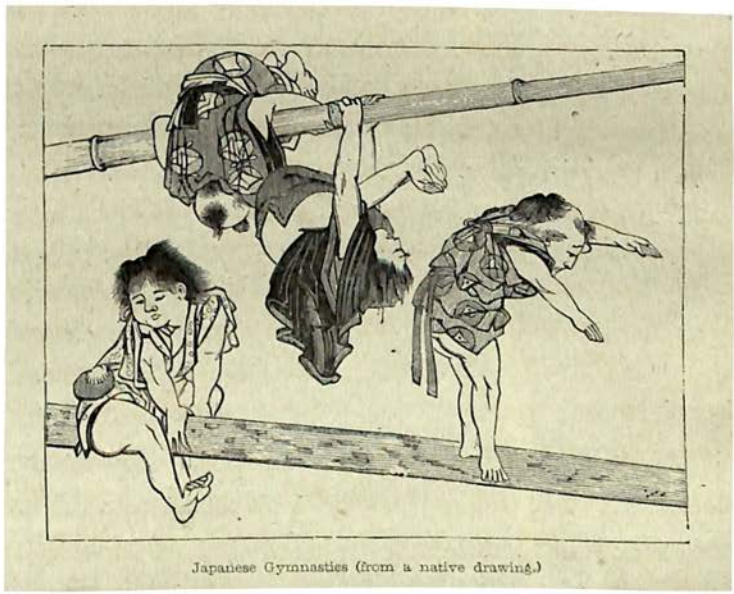
Immediately on entering, a gorgeously decorated junk, almost the size of nature, gaily freighted with a pleasure-party, was sailing over an ocean so violently agitated that only one result could be anticipated in real life: but the junk was merely a sort of scene to conceal the exhibition behind it. This consisted of a series of groups of figures carved in wood the size of life, and as cleverly coloured as Madame Tussaud's wax-works. No. 1 was a group of old men, in which decrepitude and senility of countenance were admirably portrayed. No. 2, a group of young Japanese Hebes dressing, and a country clodhopper rooted to the spot in ecstasy at the contemplation of their charms. The humour of this tableau consisted in an appearance of unconsciousness on the part of the ladies. No. 3 was a princess in magnificent array, seated on a dais, watching her maids of honour going through divers gymnastic performances: one of them was in a position more agile than graceful, her occupation being, while

extended on her back, to keep a ball dancing in the air on the soles of her feet. The attitudes, which were extremely difficult to represent correctly in wood-carving, were executed with wonderful spirit and truth to nature. No. 4 was a group of men quarrelling over sakee; the fragments of the cups, dashed to pieces in their anger, lay strewn about. Upon the countenances of two of the men the expression of ungovernable rage was well depicted. The other was leaning back and laughing immoderately. No. 5 was a group of women bathing in the sea; one of them had been caught in the folds of a cuttle-fish, the others, in alarm, were escaping, leaving their companion to her fate. The cuttle-fish was represented on a huge scale, its eyes, eyelids, and mouth being made to move simultaneously by a man inside the head.

I have given a somewhat detailed account of this "show," as it displayed a good deal of artistic talent. The subjects were characteristic, and it is a fair sample of the perfection at which the Japanese have arrived even in the lowest walks of art.

We had made arrangements to go some night "nayboen," to witness some of their theatrical performances: unfortunately, with many other projects, we were compelled to abandon this one for want of time. From all we could learn, however, we did not miss much. The theatres differ from those in China in being more commodiously arranged, as the spectators are all seated, and there is some attempt at stage

scenery. Boys perform the part of women, and, according to Thunberg, there are seldom more than two actors on the stage at the same time. He states the subjects of their representations to be generally deeds of heroism, the loves of their gods and of their heroes, expressed in verse. There is a drop-scene as with us.



Japanese Gymnastics (from a native drawing.)

We examined the toy-shops on our way back, and bought wonderful jacks-in-the-box; representations of animals, beautifully executed in straw; models of norimons and Japanese houses, as neatly finished as Swiss models; figures, some of them more humorous than decent, carved in wood; little porcelain figures, whose heads wagged and tongues shot out unexpectedly; tortoises, whose head, legs, and tail were in perpetual motion; ludicrous picture-books, grotesque

masks and sham head-dresses of both sexes. Enough absurd contrivances were here exhibited to create a revolution in the nurseries of England. When we got back into the business part of the town, we stopped at a watchmaker's to buy jewellery and clocks; the former consisted chiefly of the sword ornaments already described, but the latter were of various descriptions, some constructed on European models, others fashioned upon a principle peculiar to Japan, and supposed to be more convenient for the registration of the singular division of their time.

The twenty-four hours are divided in Japan into twelve periods of time, six of which are appropriated to darkness and six to the light. The day being calculated from sunrise to sunset, there is a necessary variation in the length of the six day and six night hours, the latter being the longest in winter, the former in summer. The clocks are altered periodically to suit the seasons of the

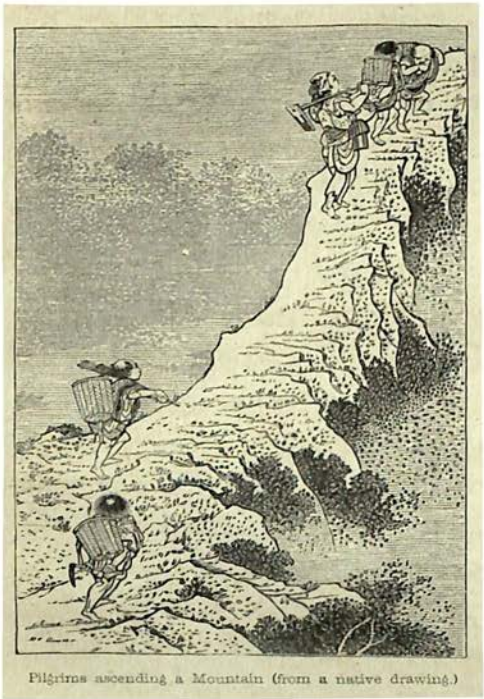
Japanese Astronomers (from a native drawing.)

year. As I never succeeded in comprehending the system by which these hours are numbered, I shall not venture upon any attempt at explanation. Some of the old Dutchmen have, however, mastered the mystery, and the reader, curious in the Japanese division of time, can consult Kæmpfer or Siebold. Their whole chronological system is in the highest degree complicated; one set of cycles is fixed arbitrarily by the Mikado, another depends upon the length of his reign; while a third, called the astronomical cycle, is a wonderful combination of the "ten elements" with the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

We returned home by a different route, passing one quarter dedicated to the sale of china, at which we would fain have stopped. The shops were upon a more extensive scale and more abundantly supplied than any we had yet seen. Unfortunately the Commissioners were waiting for us, so we pushed on, passing into the outer enclosure of the citadel through an archway, the buttresses of which were composed of gigantic blocks of stone.

We returned home highly gratified by our visit to the Quanon Temple; altogether, had we been Japanese, we could scarcely have been more assiduous in making pilgrimages to holy places. Among them such journeys are acts of the highest merit. There is the pilgrimage which it is incumbent upon every Japanese to perform once in his life, while the pious perform it annually. I regretted that the undertaking must fall to the lot of some future explorer. It is to

the shrine of the sun-goddess, Ten-sio-dai-zin, the patron divinity of Japan, and is situated at Isye, her supposed birthplace. Another very favourite act of devotion, and one in which some enterprising Englishman will doubtless, ere long, participate, is the ascent of the celebrated Fusi-yama, the "Matchless Mountain," the Mount Meru of Japan. The ascent is said to occupy three days. Its rugged sides are always inhabited by a sect of mountain priests, called Jemmabos. Their daughters, according to Kæmpfer, a beautiful race, are among the few beggars to be met with in the country. Their occupation is unhappily not confined to begging, and their parents are supported on the contributions of the licentious, as well as on the alms of the pious.



Pilgrims ascending a Mountain (from a native drawing.)

Another mendicant sect are the Fekis, an order of the blind, so named after their founder, a rebel prince. But while Fusi-yama is regarded as an object of reli-

gious veneration, it is no less admired for its scenic beauty, its striking form, great elevation, and volcanic character, and has made a deep impression on the artistic mind of Japan. It forms the background of almost every picture, and is a favourite device on lacquer and china; sometimes covered with snow, at others in a state of eruption, its appearance during that terrific natural convulsion having been handed down by tradition.

From an account given in the Chinese Repository, it would appear that the last eruption took place in 1707, on the night of the 23d day of the 11th moon, when "two violent shocks of an earthquake were felt. Mount Fusi opened, vomited flames, and hurled cinders to the distance of ten leagues. Next day the eruption ceased, but it was revived with greater violence on the 25th and 26th. Enormous masses of rock, sand reddened by heat, and an immense quantity of ashes, covered all the neighbouring plateau. The ashes were driven to a great distance, and fell several inches thick at Yedo."

As Lord Elgin was desirous of seeing some of the national sports and amusements, it had been arranged with the Commissioners that they should come to dine with us, and that previous to the entertainment some wrestlers, top-spinners, and jugglers, should exhibit for the benefit of our own party, and a number of officers who were to come on shore expressly to witness the performances. Unfortunately, through some mistake, neither the top-spinners nor wrestlers made

their appearance. Mr Hewsken, who had seen both, pronounced the exhibition of the latter to be somewhat disgusting. From the detailed description contained in the account of the American expedition to Japan, the sight must resemble a human bull-fight. The wrestlers are described as "so immense in flesh that they appeared to have lost their distinctive features, and seemed only masses of fat. Their eyes were barely visible through a long perspective of socket; the prominence of their noses was lost in the puffiness of their bloated cheeks, and their heads were almost directly set upon their bodies, with only folds of flesh where the neck and chin are usually formed. Their great size, however, was more owing to the development of muscle than to the mere deposition of fat; for although they were evidently well fed, they were not the less well exercised, and capable of great feats of strength."

Japanese Wrestlers (from a native drawing.)

Under these circumstances it was perhaps scarcely

to be regretted that we were not favoured with these gentlemen's company. The top-spinners Mr Hewsken described as most dexterous in their management of this popular plaything, one great achievement being to spin it along a string as though it were dancing a tight-rope.

We were, however, not disappointed by the juggler; he arrived late in the afternoon with attendants, wearing the apparatus indicative of his calling, and proceeded to convert Lord Elgin's sitting-room into a theatre for his operations. The spectators were ranged on seats in the garden. The conjuror was a venerable old man with a keen eye, a handsome intelligent face, and a long grey beard, the only instance I saw in the country of a countenance so adorned. His dress was very similar to that usually worn by the magicians of Egypt, and was well calculated to increase his imposing aspect. Its ample folds and flowing sleeves, moreover, afforded him many facilities in the exercise of his sleights of hand. Those tricks which were dependent merely on prestidigitation were certainly not superior to the ordinary tricks of conjurors in other countries. He produced inexhaustible substances out of very shallow boxes, which became unaccountably full and empty, and magically converted a small quantity of cotton which he had tapped into an egg upon his fan into a number of very substantial umbrellas; but these were the mere tricks of the trade, the excellence of which could best be appreciated by professional

artists. That about which there was no trick, but which struck us as exhibiting the most singular display of skill, was the famous performance with artificial butterflies. These were made in the simplest manner. A sheet of paper torn into slips supplied all the materials. By tearing these again into small oblong pieces, and twisting them in the centre, they were made roughly to represent the body and two wings. Two of these impromptu butterflies were then puffed into the air, and kept in suspense there by the action of the fan beneath them. This required to be most carefully and scientifically applied, so as not only to prevent their separating, but to guide their motions in any required direction. Now they would flutter aloft as though chasing each other in playful dalliance, at one moment twine together, at another so far apart that it seemed a mystery how the same fan could act upon both. Then they would settle together upon the leaf of a neighbouring shrub, or, more curious still, alight gently on the edge of the fan itself. The intense attention which this performance required on the part of the operator, proved that, though to the spectators the matter seemed easy enough, it called forth the exercise of all the faculties, and involved no doubt a long course of practice before proficiency could be attained.

During the whole period of his performances, the wizard, after the manner of that fraternity, never ceased talking; and, to judge by the merriment he excited among the Commissioners, and the extent to

which Higo was tickled, his remarks must have been of a highly facetious character, though he maintained himself the most imperturbable gravity throughout.

When the entertainment was over, we adjourned to dinner. As this was a more formidable meal than those luncheons at which the Commissioners had been in the habit of assisting, they addressed themselves to it with becoming solemnity, partaking steadily of everything that was offered to them, and mixing up the most incongruous articles of food in a manner which was somewhat distressing, but difficult always to prevent. On the whole, they fed more like Christians than any other unchristian nation I have ever seen, constantly glancing at us slyly out of the corners of their eyes to see what we were eating, and how we were doing it. At last the final act was concluded, and Lord Elgin informed the Commissioners that, it being the habit among loyal Englishmen to drink the health of their sovereign, he was now about to propose that toast. This was evidently a custom entirely new to them; and they had scarcely had time to comprehend its meaning before their ears were startled by the noisy "honours" with which it was immediately followed. Quickly taking their cue, however, the three-times-three had not been rung out before it was lustily joined in by our guests. The next toast was the health of his Majesty the Tycoon, which was no less uproariously responded to, the Commissioners by this time having arrived at a pitch of enthusiasm and champagne

which made them enter warmly into the proceedings of the evening. "When you in the West want to honour a person especially, you roar and shout after your meals. It was a curious custom, but they understood it now." Indeed, to prove it, Sina-nono-kami, a very grave old man, during a dead pause in the conversation, suddenly started to his feet and emitted a stentorian cheer, after which he sat solemnly down, the effect on the rest of the company being to produce an irresistible shout of laughter.

But though Sina-nono made a slight mistake upon this occasion, it was worthy of remark how easily our guests seemed to fall into our ways, and how quickly they adapted themselves to them. It very soon occurred to them that some sort of acknowledgment was due from them, which they begged to express; and then Lord Elgin's health was drunk, and their own healths, and, by the time dinner was over, they had evidently come to the conclusion that the dinners and customs of the English were not devoid of merit.

As the period of our departure from Yedo was approaching, the Emperor had sent Lord Elgin and the members of the Mission a number of presents. These were all displayed in a room at the back of the Temple, and thither we repaired after dinner to inspect them. The handsomest article was a group of storks, beautifully worked in silver, about eighteen inches in height, and of exquisite design. This was presented to his Excellency. To each of us was given

a number of rolls of silk. These were all spread out upon trays, and differed only in pattern. They were in strips about three yards in length and one in width, useless, therefore, for any practical purpose.

Their chief merit consisted in the associations connected with their manufacture. In Japan, distinguished culprits are not sent to a reformatory to make mats, but are banished to an island by themselves, where they fabricate silks. To enjoy this privilege they must, however, be nobles—exiled probably for political offences—as, according to the criminal code, it is affirmed that justice is meted out equally to the prince and the peasant.

However that may be, these silks were woven by nobles banished to the island of Fatsizio. No man below a certain rank is, in consequence, allowed to wear them, or even to have them in their houses, so that they are not to be purchased in shops. Some of the patterns were remarkably neat and tasteful; others were somewhat gaudy. The texture of the silk itself was most substantial, and, from its appearance, I should imagine, durable.

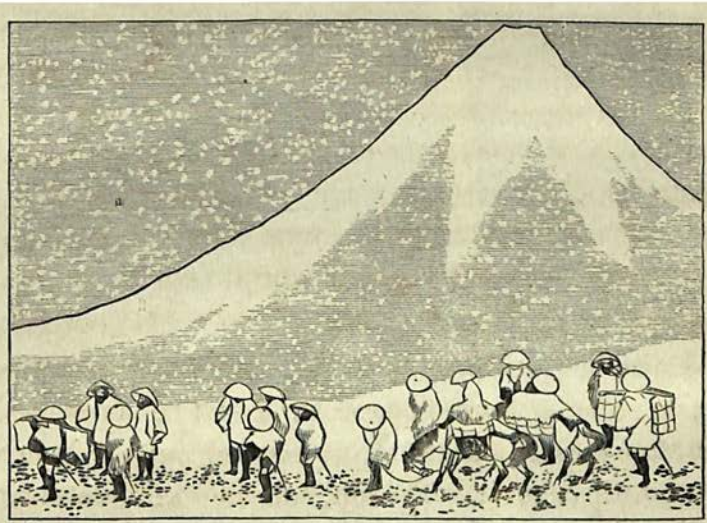
Commander Ward, who brought out the yacht, was presented with a very handsome china bowl, curiously lacquered inside, and a lacquered cabinet, very highly finished. But the most singular item in the list of presents was the dressing-gowns or robes of state, for they seemed indiscriminately applied to both purposes. Lord Elgin was overwhelmed with about thirty of these, each one occupying as much

space as a large German duvet, and containing an equal amount of warmth. We found the deck of the Furious piled with these most inconvenient articles of attire when we subsequently went on board of her, the sight of which, with the thermometer at 80°, was the reverse of refreshing; while their enormous dimensions occupied half the quarter-deck, and threatened to produce serious effects upon the mind of the first-lieutenant. The lining consisted of silk-wadding, a discovery we made in ripping them open to take it out, as in no other way was it possible to stow away such bulky additions to one's wardrobe. The wadding proved most serviceable in packing egg-shell china.

Lord Elgin, not having been supplied with any suitable presents to bestow in return for this manifestation of good-will on the part of his Majesty, was compelled to make a selection from the ship's stores of the Furious, of which he requested the acceptance of the Commissioners. They seemed perfectly satisfied with the flannel, blue cloth, soap, and chocolate, which was abundantly pressed upon them, and more especially appreciated the addition of some rifles and carbines.

It was with no little reluctance that we parted late in the evening; it was our last night in Yedo. We looked forward with horror to a return to that Empire, the reverse of Celestial, with which so many disagreeable associations were connected, and looked back with regret on the few but happy days we had

passed in the capital of Japan. The life of a traveller is a succession of such experiences; he has long since ceased to growl at them, for they point the moral of his *metier*, and furnish him with a philosophy which should avail him at all times and in all lands, even in that retirement to which he will probably be doomed on his return to his own country.



Travellers in a Snow-Storm (from a native drawing.)

CHAPTER XI.

SETTLING-DAY—JAPANESE CURRENCY—GOLD AND SILVER COINS—THE CURRENCY DIFFICULTY—JAPANESE PACKING—SIGNING OF THE TREATY—DEATH OF THE TYCOON "NAYBOEN"—PROBABLE CAUSE OF HIS DEATH—PROFOUND SECRESY OBSERVED—EVACUATION OF OUR LODGINGS—PRESENTATION OF THE YACHT—PARTING SCENES.

THE 26th of August was the day fixed for the signing of the Treaty. On that day two months before, the Treaty of Tientsin had been signed under very different circumstances.

From the earliest hour of the morning our abode was a scene of turmoil and bustle. The day's programme was so extensive, it seemed quite hopeless to get through it. The hubbub in the apartment assigned to our Japanese retinue was so constant that I went to investigate the cause. Here were collected tradesmen who had all come to have their "little bills" settled under Government auspices; visitors who came to take a last look at the English strangers; many faces familiar to us as attendants on sundry expeditions; our old servants and spies; and presiding over all, a functionary appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to superintend arrangements,

settle disputes, should any arise, and report upon all matters connected with the foreigners.

An amount of tea and tobacco was being consumed sufficient to fumigate a seventy-four, and float her afterwards. Piled up in corners were Japanese costumes ordered by one gentleman; tethered opposite were two little Japanese dogs ordered by another. Stacked against the wall were a number of swords, heaped near them a quantity of books, articles which it was impossible to get the first day, but which were coming in readily enough now.

Unfortunately all these had to be paid for. The settling of these formidable accounts loomed in prospect, all the more dreadful from the solemnity of the process. Two old Japanese, senior wranglers probably of their year, with corrugated foreheads and countenances betokening unlimited sagacity, stalked gravely in with attendants carrying balances, scales, weights, pens, ink, and paper, and seated themselves in the centre of the dining-room. Then approached tremblingly the shopkeeper and the victim who was to pay him. The latter had a strong presentiment that all the dollars in his possession, nay, even the entire amount of the handsome annual income he enjoyed, in consideration of the valuable services he was rendering his country in these distant regions, would be insufficient to meet the terrific expenditure he had been induced to incur in this seductive city. Anxiously he emptied his bag of dollars into one scale of the balance. The silver itzibus in the other kicked the beam. Moment of in-

tense relief! he remained the happy possessor of two dollars, having, it must be premised, previously borrowed as much from all his neighbours as they could possibly spare. There was very little discussion over the settlement. The officials came provided with an exact list furnished by the shopkeepers; they knew how much each of us owed the moment we gave our names. The amount had been added up. There was no discrepancy in our accounts; the right number of itzibus were in the balance; nothing remained but to weigh our dollars against them. Then the itzibus were handed to the shopkeepers, and the dollars retained by the Government.

The currency of the country consists of a great variety of gold, silver, and copper coins. These are all specified at great length in Thunberg, but our observation does not quite agree with his information on the subject. The largest gold coin known is the obang, a most inconvenient circulating medium, as it is nearly six inches in length and three inches and a half in breadth. I did not see a specimen of this unwieldy piece of gold. It is estimated in value at £20 sterling, but is not in common use. The gold coin in ordinary circulation is the cobang; it is about two inches and a half in length, and an inch and a quarter wide. Its extreme thinness, however, diminishes its value; it is intrinsically worth £1, 10s. Although I saw this coin, I was unfortunate in not being able to procure one. We found the greatest difficulty in obtaining specimens of the currency of

the country, and I came away at last the possessor of a solitary itzibu. These are either of gold or silver: the gold itzibu is a small oblong piece of money, intrinsically worth about seven and sixpence. The intrinsic value of the gold half-itzibu, which is not too large to convert into a shirt-stud, is about one and tenpence.

I have spoken of the intrinsic value of these coins, because by the Treaty our gold should pass in Japan for its corresponding weight in Japanese gold; but inasmuch as it is not nearly so pure as that of Japan, there must always be a difference between its actual and intrinsic value. The value of silver in Japan is as nearly as possible the same as it is with us. The silver itzibus, against which our dollars were weighed, were worth rather more than a shilling a-piece. These are divided into half and quarter itzibus, and at last we descend to the lowest medium, copper and iron cash. Most of these coins have the stamp of the mint upon them, consisting of some Japanese characters, as well as the print of flowers, like *fleurs-de-lis* and other devices.

The dollars which we paid in lieu of this money, together with all the foreign coin that has entered the government treasury since the signing of the Treaty, have been melted down and coined into a new currency, the circulation of which, I regret to observe by the last accounts from Japan, the Government, in opposition to the spirit of the Treaty, has endeavoured to confine to commercial transactions

with foreigners. It was to avoid the inconveniences arising out of the former system that the currency clause was inserted in the Treaty, by which it is stipulated that "all foreign coin shall be current in Japan, and shall pass for its corresponding weight in Japanese coin of the same description. British and Japanese subjects may freely use foreign or Japanese coin in making payment to each other." By the term Japanese coin was intended the then existing currency of the Empire. Instead of accepting this as the meaning of the clause, however, the Japanese Government has issued a new coin called a nichon, which is intrinsically worth about, and is declared current at, half a dollar: it is not allowed, however, to pass current among the people, and the Japanese merchant is consequently compelled to take them to the government treasury, where he is obliged to receive one old itzibu, worth about one shilling and twopence, in exchange for two nichons, worth four and twopence. It is evident that this arrangement must operate as an actual bar to trade. The motives which may have induced the Government to adopt it I shall consider presently. Meantime we may be thankful that our own account is settled, and it only now behoves us to pack up our purchases.

We have had gigantic deal cases ordered some days back, and the skill of Japanese carpenters has been displayed in the finish and solid workmanship of our boxes; but it is a serious question, whether that mountain of lacquer, and those pyramids of

when he learns that his Majesty the Tycoon had taken his departure "nayboen" from the domestic and political troubles of this weary world about the period of our arrival in Yedo, and was now in the realm of the Kamis, little heedful, probably, of the affairs of his late temporal kingdom, and wrapt in the contemplation of "Xim which is the principle of everything."

We were not informed of this melancholy event until the return of the French Mission from Yedo to Shanghai, about two months afterwards. The fact had then been made public, and the whole city was in mourning. Our only consolation was, that everybody else had been taken in as well as ourselves. The deceit which had been practised was in no way referable to the presence of foreigners. The custom of the country is, that for six weeks after the death of a Tycoon it shall be kept profoundly secret, until the successor is firmly seated on the vacant throne, and all possibility of any disputes with reference to it is removed. Of whom consist the favoured few whose office it is to gull everybody else, I was not informed; doubtless the Crown Princes, and probably the Council, so that it is just possible that our friends the Commissioners were themselves ignorant of the fact. If they were not, they had certainly attained a high proficiency in the art of living a lie, for the conversation frequently turned upon the Emperor's health, and they sometimes volunteered the information that it was so much improved that, after all, an audience might be practicable.

china, can be disposed of in their recesses. We have dreadful visions of unpacking them at some future day, and finding all that delicate egg-shell, those charming devices, which are to be the wonder and delight of our friends at home, crushed into infinitesimal atoms. Fortunately every piece of china has a little box to itself, the lid of which fits to perfection, and the contents have been so carefully swathed in cotton by the shopkeeper that we don't venture to open them. Every piece of lacquer has been similarly cared for, and we put a blind trust in the Japanese packers, and stow away our fragile purchases hopefully amid a universal hammering, and bargaining, and settling, and packing, until at last we know that the luncheon hour has stolen upon us by the opportune arrival of the Commissioners, who are much amused at the apparent confusion which reigns everywhere.

The signing of the Treaty was a most solemn and serious operation, inasmuch as there were copies made in Dutch, Japanese, and English, of which each were in triplicate, and each required the signatures of Lord Elgin and the six Commissioners, besides sundry additional clauses to be signed separately; no fewer than eighty-four signatures had to be appended. Some of the Commissioners were, moreover, very particular in making pretty signatures, and painted away at the hieroglyphics which represented their names, with evident care and anxiety. Others, friend Higo, for instance, dashed away with his brush, perfectly

regardless of the opinion which people in England might form of his handwriting. The process of sealing, unknown to them, created a good deal of interest and curiosity; and afterwards, when Lord Elgin proposed an interchange of pens, he having purposely made use of six different ones, the Admiral appropriately remarked, that he gladly availed himself of this opportunity of inaugurating the interchange of the products of the two countries, which he trusted might ever be marked with that interchange of good feeling which had characterised our mutual intercourse hitherto.

Then came Moriyama's turn to receive those compliments which his skill and ability amply justified. He had made a copy of the Treaty in Dutch, the caligraphy of which would have been a credit to a Dutch writing-master; and he smirked and smiled like a bashful young lady on having his performance eulogised. By this time the ceremony was concluded, and the Treaty had been ratified in a loving cup, in anticipation of that future day when it should be more formally recognised by our respective Sovereigns. We found that a grand banquet had been provided for us by the Emperor, who sent Lord Elgin a great many civil speeches, expressed in the warmest terms his regret at never having been able to receive him, and wished him a brilliant career, and future success and prosperity.

Fortunately we were spared, at the time, that shock which the nerves of the susceptible reader will sustain,

It was a still more gratuitous piece of false intelligence on their part to tell us the story of his adopting a son; nor can one clearly perceive the object of the fable.

We never exactly learned the date of his death. The Dutch, who are perhaps a little jealous at the rapidity of our success, declare that he put an end to himself during our stay in Yedo, in consequence of the difficulties in which the policy of his government with regard to foreigners was involving him. The French, on the other hand, assert that he died shortly after Mr Harris's treaty was signed; overcome, possibly, by that event; while Mr Harris himself, who had an audience with his Majesty, described him to us as a wretchedly delicate-looking man, and a victim to epilepsy. It is therefore most probable that his death was the result of natural causes, and occurred about the time of our arrival. This is taking the French account, and calculating upon an interval of six weeks intervening between the occurrence of the event and its being made public.

Under all circumstances, it is a striking illustration of the perfect organisation which pervades all classes of society, and of the system to which all possible contingencies and events are by law reduced. Many retainers and servants in the palace must have been aware of the circumstance. A burial of some sort probably took place. It is difficult to conceive, even if it did not, how such absolute and entire secresy could have been maintained, or to imagine it possible

that the female part of the establishment, some of whom must have been cognisant of so important an event, should have been able to preserve a discreet silence upon it.

Certain it is that the world at large were as little conscious of it as we were, when, doing justice to the dinner of our defunct entertainer, we drank his health in hot sakee.

The most important part of the day's work was yet to come. The yacht was still flying the British ensign, and the ceremony of handing her over to her new owners was to be the occupation of the afternoon. The Commissioners had already started off to attire themselves in the robes appropriate to the occasion. It happened to be Prince Albert's birthday, and the usual salutes had already been fired, the ships remaining dressed out all day. In one of the Japanese forts no small amount of excitement reigned. For the first time in the annals of Japan a salute was to be fired in honour of a foreign flag. This was a concession which had never before been made to any nation, and we were curious to observe how the performance would be executed. Meantime our sacred lodgings were beginning to assume a melancholy and deserted appearance; servants and baggage were moving about the yard, sturdy Japanese porters pervaded our sleeping apartments. We took a lingering look at our quaint abode, so comfortable, and yet so unlike any house that anybody had ever lived in before, and with a sigh of regret mounted our steeds

for the last time. The sensation was not unlike that which is felt, if, when very hot and thirsty, one is stopped in the middle of a delicious draught of beer, having only had time to swallow two mouthfuls. However, we were not destined to have "more;" so we rode again down the main street, through crowds as dense as those which had greeted us on our first arrival; and seating ourselves once again in the barge, pushed off from that shore on which we had spent nine such interesting and exciting days.

We found the Commissioners had preceded us, and were now strutting about the deck of the yacht in all the bravery of their resplendent costumes. I had no notion that it entered into Japanese customs to wear such dresses. They are only donned on festive occasions, such as this was supposed to be.

Higo was literally covered with crabs, some of them large enough to be an honour to an English seaport. The dress was embroidered silk, with these crabs in raised silver, standing out in high relief. Another of the Commissioners flaunted about with a robe ornamented with the cheerful device of a skull. Each had his peculiar emblem, worked on a large scale, on his breast and back. Though somewhat gaudy and fantastic in detail, the general effect was striking and imposing.

Lord Elgin now formally addressed the Commissioners, handing over to them, on behalf of her Majesty, the yacht which she had presented to the Tycoon as a token of friendship and good-will. Then

down came the English ensign, and up went the red ball on the white ground, the signal for the forts to salute; and the puff curling over the blue waters of the bay, and followed by a dull roar, proved how well the Japanese signal-man had kept his watch.

With perfect precision the native gunners fired twenty-one guns with an interval of ten seconds between each. The weather was lovely, the bay was alive with pleasure-boats—the wonderstruck Japanese listening to their own forts conducting themselves in this totally unprecedented manner. Then came the sharp ringing response from the 68-pounders of the Retribution and Furious, and the yacht got slowly under weigh, commanded by a Japanese captain, manned by Japanese sailors, and her machinery worked by Japanese engineers. Notwithstanding the horizontal cylinders and other latest improvements with which her engines were fitted, the men had learnt their lesson well, and were confident in their powers. We steamed gallantly through the fleets, the admiration of all beholders, whether British or Japanese. A brilliant sunset added its glories to this lively and attractive scene. The shores of the bay were lined with people; in places green wooded banks came down to the water, and the smoke from their guns still rested upon the island forts. Many-coloured flags fluttered in the breeze, hundreds of boats flitted to and fro on the still waters of the bay; while, rearing its conical summit far into the blue sky, old Fusi-yama formed a noble background to

a picture such as had never before been witnessed in the course of all the many centuries during which this majestic peak has presided over the capital of Dai Nipon. Captain Barker had prepared a feast for the Commissioners on board the Retribution, and they examined the fittings of this handsome vessel with much interest. At last the moment of parting arrived, and amid many demonstrations of affection on both sides, they bade us a final farewell.

As night closed in, the golden sun was followed by a moon which had borrowed a lustre from the reflected rays of the luminary it rivalled. Then rockets shot into the heavens, and blue-lights burnt at the yardarms, and the rows of forts were illuminated in quick reply. The long day was over at last, and with it we felt that our Japanese experiences had finally terminated. They had been marked by an interest and a novelty not to be surpassed, and by a success, in a political point of view, scarcely to have been anticipated. The 26th August 1858 will be a date long to be remembered by all of us who shared in the singular and interesting proceedings of that day; but it will be an epoch in the history of the Japanese Empire, and, in centuries to come, natives and foreigners will alike record with interest the anniversary of an event pregnant with such important results to commerce and civilisation.

CHAPTER XII.

FUTURE PROSPECTS—CIVILISATION OF JAPAN—THE EFFECT OF THE TREATY—DUTCH SUBSERVIENCY—INTERVIEWS OF THE DUTCH WITH THE TYCOON—POLICY TO BE PURSUED—NECESSITY OF MERCANTILE MORALITY—RESOURCES OF JAPAN—COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA—GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE—CHOW-CHOW CARGOES—COMPETITION WITH NATIVE MANUFACTURES—PROBABLE DEMAND FOR WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES, ETC.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTS—JAPAN WAX—MINERAL RESOURCES—COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS—LEAVE JAPAN—THE PORT OF HIOGO—OHOSAKA—KIOTO—CAUGHT IN A TYPHOON—ARRIVAL AT SHANGHAI.

BEFORE bidding a final adieu to Japan, it may be interesting to cast a brief glance at the present state and future prospects of our political and commercial relations with that Empire. In the account which I have given of our intercourse with its officials and people generally, I have endeavoured to convey honestly the impression produced upon our minds during our brief experience amongst them. These impressions coincided thoroughly with the accounts we received from Dutch and American gentlemen, whose acquaintance with the country had dated from a longer period; but it is more than probable that, as our relations with the Japanese become more

extended, the character they will receive at our hands will be less favourable. This may arise from two causes. In the first place, they will very probably be provoked and irritated into an antagonism to us by the overbearing and insolent behaviour, common, unhappily, to a certain class of our countrymen when brought into contact with semi-civilised races; and, in the second, even those among us who are superior to any such imputation, rarely make allowances for different moral standards, and altogether dissimilar habits and modes of thought from those to which they are themselves accustomed. They forget, for instance, that *truth* is a virtue unknown except to a mere fraction of the human family—that, as a general rule, a strict adherence to truth is to be met with only in countries peopled by races among whom chivalry has existed as an institution. To the east of Europe I have ever found it regarded rather as a weakness than a virtue—a fact which in no way militates against Asiatics being in some respects superior to Europeans.

It is, nevertheless, possible that many persons will go to Japan, and, because they do not find a code of honour corresponding to our own, complain that the moral qualities of the people have been overstated.

The civilisation of Japan differs entirely from that of any other country; and if we expect themt o meet us half-way in the spirit of advancement and progression common to the West, we shall be grievously disappointed. There are, it is true, among the

aristocracy of Japan, men who are said to be really desirous of admitting foreigners into the Empire, and of deriving for their countrymen all the advantages which may be gained by a liberal and progressive policy. Some nobles of this party were in power at the time of our arrival there, and violent discussions were reported to have taken place as to the policy to be pursued; for, with the majority of the aristocracy, the prejudices even of two centuries could not be removed at a bound.

With them that exclusive system, which originated in the discovery of the ambitious designs and treacherous machinations of the first Europeans with whom they came in contact, was at last abandoned only under the influence of fear. The cordiality of our reception at Yedo was, in certain quarters, the mask which a somewhat shallow diplomacy led them to assume, in order to avert a danger they deemed imminent, and which they dared not meet. They fancied they saw impending over them the fate of India, and they believed that the only alternative was to grant us concessions such as we had already wrung from China. It is only fair to ourselves to say that they were entirely mistaken in this assumption. The Treaty with America had already been made, and ours followed as a matter of course; but it is scarcely to be wondered at that, when this fear was removed, the liberals should be at a discount, and their opponents should endeavour, even at the expense of good faith, to retreat from engagements they would never will-

ingly have entered into, more especially when encouraged by the intelligence that the Chinese Government had already commenced to pursue the same policy with success.

With a crude knowledge of the sacredness of treaty-obligations, and an instinctive dread of the aggressive tendencies of people from the West, the old Japanese party seem now inclined to ignore stipulations actually ratified by the Government. If we hope to conduct relations with Japan upon a satisfactory footing, our true policy is to intimate distinctly to the Government that we intend to enforce every one of our rights to the uttermost letter. The subserviency of the Dutch for upwards of two centuries will doubtless render it more difficult for us to maintain our relations upon that footing of equality, without which the evil results of a false position must necessarily ensue, than if no intercourse had hitherto existed between Japan and European countries.

In order to appreciate the pitch to which the Dutch carried their compliance with the humiliating code of Court etiquette forced upon them by the Japanese Government, it is worth while glancing at the account which we have received from the veracious Kæmpfer of the ceremonies of the audience at Yedo between the Resident of the Dutch Factory and the Temporal Emperor. "As soon as the Resident entered the hall of audience," says the old German physician, "they cried out 'Holanda captain,'

which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly, he *crawled* on his hands and knees to a place shown him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the Emperor sat on the other; and there kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backwards, like a crab, without uttering a single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have with this mighty monarch."

This was the form of the audience of ceremony, but now let us see what took place on the next occasion, when his Japanese Majesty condescended to unbend. After the members of the Dutch mission had, to use the word of the same writer, crept into the audience-chamber, "the Emperor sat himself on our right behind the lattices, as near as he possibly could. Then he ordered us to take off our cappa or cloak, being our garment of ceremony; then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us; again to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. Meanwhile we obeyed the Emperor's commands in the best manner we could. I joined to my dance a love-song in High German. In this manner, and with numerous other such apish tricks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the Emperor's and the Court's diversion."

In the present state of our political relations, not

only with Japan but with China, it is most important that we should recall the history of the earlier intercourse which Europeans maintained with those countries, as tending to encourage in these semi-civilised courts that assumption of superiority which must sooner or later be resisted, and to which may be traced all the political complications which have arisen, or are likely to arise, with those empires.

We are at this moment suffering in China from the false position which we assumed during those years when our trade was confined to Canton and governed by a monopoly of Hong merchants, and when we submitted to restrictions and indignities, not so insulting, indeed, as those offered to the Dutch in Japan, but sufficiently so to establish in the Celestial mind our position of inferiority, of which we have never yet succeeded in disabusing it.

In Japan, fortunately, we have not as yet thus committed ourselves, but there can be no doubt that we suffer to a certain extent from the low moral position which the Dutch took up at the outset, and which must more or less affect all foreigners. Assuredly, if our political agents in Japan inaugurate our intercourse with that court by crawling about on their hands and knees, playing the drunkard and singing love-songs, we shall very soon have a Japanese war on our hands. Happily, in our Consul-General at Yedo we have a sagacious and experienced man, who is not likely to give way upon points of national dignity ; but unless our diplomacy is conducted upon principles calculated

to make us respected as a nation at the outset, it will be impossible for us in the long run to maintain satisfactory relations with the Japanese Government. It is no doubt true that the influence of the Governments both of China and Japan, and indeed their stability, depend in a great measure upon the prestige which attaches to them in the eyes of the people at large; but if that prestige is to be purchased at the price of the humiliation of Great Britain as a nation, we had better leave to more mercenary countries the privilege of trading with those empires. So far as Japan is concerned, there is no reason to suppose that the application of force will be necessary to inculcate the principal lessons of reciprocal international obligations. With so quick-sighted and intelligent a people, moral influences may be made to operate more effectually than physical force, and with far happier results.

But if it is so essential to the maintenance of an amicable intercourse with Japan that our diplomatists in that country carry out a policy of combined firmness and forbearance, it is no less vital to the success of commercial enterprise, in this new and comparatively unexplored field, that our merchants set an example, to a people totally inexperienced in transactions of this nature, of a rigid adherence to treaty-obligations. Where these are sought to be evaded, and advantage is taken of the ignorance or stupidity of native officials to infringe even in the smallest degree the strict letter of the law, the consequences of such a course are certain to recoil upon the mer-

cantile community generally. Sooner or later the Government becomes aware of the abuse, and either resents the wrong by creating out of it a cause of international difficulty, or perhaps, unable to remedy the mischief, recognises the principle, and thus introduces an element of dishonesty which cannot fail in the end to exercise a most demoralising influence upon all persons engaged in the trade.

There are so many most tempting occasions for stretching the provisions of a treaty, which, in the case of a country like Japan, must necessarily be somewhat vague, that it is by the spirit rather than by the letter that foreigners should be guided. By observing this principle, we shall the more rapidly and successfully develop the resources which yet lie hidden in Japan.

It would be somewhat rash for a visitor whose experience of the country has been limited to a residence of a fortnight in its capital, to attempt to detail with any certainty what those resources are. That they are very varied we know, from the circumstance that they suffice for every want of a civilised and cultivated people. That they are very extensive we cannot doubt, because between thirty and forty millions of people are dependent on them alone. How far they are yet capable of expansion, we shall only learn from those who have extended opportunities of judging.

We may, however, venture to predict that, in the first instance, the great preponderance of the trade of Japan will be with China. Formerly the inter-

course between these two countries was limited to ten Chinese junks a-year—Chapoo, near Shanghai, being the only port in China to or from which junks were permitted to trade. No Japanese junk was allowed to engage in this trade, their construction, indeed, involving a coasting voyage; and this construction results not from their ignorance of a better model, but from the stringent regulations forbidding them to build on a principle which would enable them to enter upon distant voyages. The cargoes of the Chinese junks consisted principally of sugar, besides spices, dyes, and drugs of various descriptions. In return, a certain quantity of bar copper was allotted to each junk, the remainder of the cargoes consisting of lacquered ware, dried fish, whale-oil, &c.

According to Thunberg, the crew were always brought on shore, and all charge of the vessel taken from them till such time as everything was ready for their departure; consequently, the Japanese unloaded it entirely, and afterwards brought the vessel on shore, where, at low-water, it was quite dry. The next year it was loaded with other goods. They were, in fact, treated with even greater indignity than the Dutch, while, as a larger per-centage was deducted from their merchandise, their profits were even less.

So complete has been the control which the Government has uniformly exercised over all commercial transactions in which its subjects have engaged, that we shall doubtless find considerable difficulty in emancipating trade from its undue interference.

I have already remarked that, even in the last treaty negotiated by the Dutch in 1855, the old machinery of the Geld Kammer was preserved, by which Government reserved to itself the control over the sale of every cargo arriving at Nagasaki. With a Government still labouring under the traditions of a commercial policy, the essential principle of which is a minute investigation into every act of the trader, and an immediate supervision of his every mercantile transaction, we must be prepared for difficulties in our commercial intercourse at every turn. A Japanese has no more idea of individual freedom than a child of three years old, and is about as learned in matters of trade. He has always been in the nursery, and is contented to remain there.

His paternal, or rather maternal Government, tells him the price at which he is to purchase his goods, the description of money he is to pay for them in, and what he is to sell in return. When the Englishman, with his notions of personal liberty and his habits of free trade, comes into business contact with a slave instead of a free man, and finds himself hampered by regulations which apply to his customer in such a manner as to act most injuriously on himself, it requires no prophet to foretell the results. We shall have a considerable and very natural irritation produced, and bitter complaints made, against the Japanese Government, who must learn to conform to the usages of civilised nations in this respect, and be taught that, beyond a certain

point, no isolated community has a right to dictate to the rest of the world upon a matter in which mankind are universally interested.

The appointment of a Japanese embassy to this country would do more than anything else to convey this necessary and wholesome truth to the minds of the Council at Yedo.

The trade between China and Japan, to which I have already alluded, and of which foreign ships would always retain the monopoly, consists principally in the interchange of articles of diet peculiar to those countries. Thus one of the most expensive luxuries in China is the root called ginseng; it is used medicinally, or by the rich as an agreeable tonic; but the price at which it is sold in the bazaars in China is something fabulous. Already great quantities of ginseng have been exported from Japan, where it grows abundantly. Dried fish, sharks' fins, and sea-slugs, are also enumerated among the imports into China from Japan; while the Chinese have been supplying their neighbours, in return, with preserved eggs, birds' nests, and various spices and drugs used as medicines, too numerous to mention. The generic name for a cargo composed of miscellanies of this nature is chow-chow.

As Japan does not produce sugar, when the taste for that article becomes more universal there will probably be a large demand for it. The most convenient source of supply is Formosa; but the taste for sugar is only one among numerous wants which we

have yet to create in order to provide ourselves with a market in Japan. Hitherto they have lived in blissful ignorance of the comfort of a cotton pocket-handkerchief, and have satisfied themselves with square pieces of whitey-brown paper. The mysteries of long-ells and Spanish stripes have not yet been made known to them, nor could they distinguish between broadcloths and velveteens. Printed cottons, American domestics, drills, and all varieties of piece-goods, have been supplied hitherto by articles of native manufacture. It will be for the manufacturer of this country to substitute for them goods which can answer the same purpose, of a more suitable material and at a lower figure.

In China we have hitherto failed in producing that great revolution in the fabric of which the dress of the people is composed, which was predicted on the conclusion of the Pottinger Treaty. Chinese cottons, manufactured by the hand, still compete successfully with the productions of the machinery of this country, although it is fair to say that a gradual improvement is taking place in this respect, and the new regulation affecting the transit dues will materially facilitate the introduction of foreign produce into the country. So far as we are aware, no such obstructions to the free internal traffic of the country exist in Japan. When once the goods are disposed of, their circulation is unrestricted. Of course, the extent of that circulation will depend in a great measure on the facilities of internal communication which

the Empire affords. Its volcanic and mountainous character renders the transport of goods by land expensive, although the roads are often broad enough for wheeled vehicles; but very few of these are used, and then almost exclusively for agricultural purposes. On the other hand, the great extent of the Japanese seaboard, and the large population to which easy access may thus be obtained, will render the task of supplying their wants comparatively easy.

There is one material, in particular, for which there ought certainly to be a large demand in Japan when its merits become known. Old William Adams, who sailed for South America with a cargo of woollens three hundred years ago, thus describes the result of a conference held on board the Dutch ship "Erasmus," when they had failed in disposing of her cargo :—

"At last it was resolved to go to Japan, for by report of one Derrick Geritson, which had been there with the Portugals, woollen cloth was in great estimation in that island, and we gathered by reason, that the Malaccas, and most part of the East Indies, were hot countries, where woollen cloths would not be much accepted; therefore it was we agreed to go for Japan."

At present the Japanese wear in winter garments thickly padded either with cotton or silk wool. In the latter case, warm clothing is somewhat expensive, and there can be little doubt that our woollen fabrics would answer the purpose better, and be far cheaper. In China, sheepskins and coarse furs are

used by the lower orders, but I did not observe any fur-shops in Yedo. By the Treaty both cottons and woollens are admitted into Japan at a duty of five per cent. The remaining articles included in the five-per-cent list are all articles used for the purpose of building, rigging, repairing, or fitting out of ships; whaling-gear of all kinds; salted provisions of all kinds; bread and bread-stuffs; living animals of all kinds; coals, timber for building houses, rice, paddy, steam-machinery, zinc, lead, tin, and raw silk. A duty of thirty-five per cent is placed upon all intoxicating liquors. Gold and silver, coined or uncoined, are admitted duty free. All other articles pay a duty of twenty per cent.

The exportation of rice and wheat, gold and silver coin, and copper in bars, is prohibited. The Japanese Government, however, engages to sell from time to time, at public auction, any surplus quantity of copper that may be produced. This, together with all other articles of Japanese production which are exported as cargo, is liable to a duty of five per cent. One of the most important clauses in these regulations is the right reserved of revision of the tariff at the end of five years.

Silk, camphor, vegetable oil, and vegetable wax, are among the principal products which are likely to be exported to this country; the tea and tobacco are both of a very superior quality; while, among manufactured articles, lacquer and china in small quantities will always find a market in the West.

Hitherto the most successful cargo brought to this country from Japan has been one of Japanese wax. Mr Simmonds, in the *China Telegraph*, gives the following account of Japan wax:—"Rhus succedanea, the species which furnishes the Japan wax, has long been grown in our greenhouses, having been introduced from China nearly a century ago.

"It might be raised, we should suppose, in the Cape and Australian colonies, in the Mauritius and India, and would be far preferable as an oleaginous plant to the species of candleberry myrtles, from which wax is obtained. It will grow in any common soil, and may be readily increased by cuttings. We shall probably soon learn what is the ordinary mode of culture in the plantations of Japan, and whether any attention is paid to pruning, manuring, &c. The wax is of medium quality, between beeswax and the ordinary vegetable tallows, such as Bassia butter, Borneo vegetable tallows, Cocum butter, &c. Though there are shades of difference, several of these varieties of wax possess the essential properties of that formed by bees; indeed, it was formerly supposed that bees merely collected the wax already formed by the vegetable, but Huber's experiments show that the insect has the power of transmuting sugar into wax, and that it is, in fact, a secretion. Japan wax is softer, more brittle and fatty than beeswax, easily kneaded, and melts between 40° and 42° C. It contains twice as much oxygen as beeswax, and has a different composition, consisting of palmitic acid united with oxide of

glyceryle. The small parcels which formerly reached this country have been used in Price's Patent Candle-works in substitution for wax, and for hard neutral fat, and, after conversion into the acid state, both for candles and night-lights. If the wholesale price can be reduced, this wax will find its way into extensive consumption on the Continent for various purposes."

The seeds of another tree called the Rhus vernicefera, also contain a tallow-like oil which is used in the making of candles.

But so far as our present limited knowledge of the resources of Japan will enable us to form an opinion, its mineral are more likely to prove a profitable source of commerce than its vegetable productions. At present there is every probability of the Government placing obstacles in the way of European enterprise in this direction. They have reserved to themselves the monopoly of that most abundant mineral in Japan, copper, which is used for mechanical and other purposes there, almost as we should use iron. Iron, however, also abounds in various parts of Japan, and the mines appear to be extensively worked. Judging from articles of casting of their own construction, the ores must be of excellent quality. Specimens of wrought iron, cast and blister steel, have been examined with very satisfactory results. The wrought iron is usually hammered, and in small flat bars varying from twelve to twenty lb. each. This is probably to be attributed to a want of proper machinery for

heavier bars, and its being better suited to their purposes.

Coal, as well as copper, is a Government monopoly. Hitherto the coal brought for sale since the opening of trade has been surface coal, and consequently inferior in quality: it is described as small. It burns slaty, leaving considerable ash, and is very light. The price at the first opening of trade was 3½ Mexican dollars a ton, but it has probably risen since then. There can be little doubt that good coal will be found in the Islands, when the mines begin to be properly worked; but whether or not the Government will permit English engineers to enter the country to assist in developing them, is highly problematical.

However much we may regret the difficulties which oppose themselves to the commercial exploration of so fertile and productive a country as Japan, the result of our experience leads us to believe that we must wait for many years before trade can be carried on with it upon an extensive and really profitable scale. Still we need not despair of a prosperous era ultimately arriving. We have already succeeded in demolishing that external rampart of exclusiveness, which had successfully resisted the assaults of Western nations for upwards of two centuries. We must now apply ourselves steadily to undermine the inner barriers which have been constructed during that period, under the influence of long-standing prejudices and bitter memories of the past. We shall most successfully achieve this important result by the exercise of for-

bearance and integrity on the part of our merchants, and by the maintenance of a dignified but conciliatory policy on the part of our Government.

It will be a source of legitimate pride and gratification to this country, if, on some future day, a Japanese, looking back through the history of the Empire, can point to the pages which record our first intercourse with it, as being those which mark the dawn of a brighter and purer civilisation.

When the day broke on the following morning, we were no longer visible to the good people at Yedo. Early in the afternoon we were abreast of Simoda, and bade adieu to our invaluable interpreter and friend Mr Hewsken, consigning him the less reluctantly to his hermitage on shore, because the days of his solitary confinement were drawing to an end, and intercourse with China would henceforward be a matter of common occurrence.

We had hoped, on our return voyage to Shanghai, to explore the Suwonada Sea and those interesting waters which lie between the islands of Kiu-siu, Sikok, and Nipon, and which have not as yet been traversed by foreign keel, and which must afford a most interesting field for surveys of a scientific character, as also for general observation. The Suwonada Sea is thickly covered with islands, and was reported to us by the Japanese as navigable for ships of large draught. The large and important island of Sikok intervenes between it and the North Pacific Ocean,

with which this sea is connected by the Straits of Bungo on the west, and the narrow Channel of Kino on the east. Sikok is, as its name implies, divided into four provinces; as, however, we did not even sight its shores, we had no opportunity of obtaining any information about it. It is about 150 miles long, with an average breadth of 70 miles, and is computed to contain about 20,000 square miles.

With the Suwonada Sea, however, we are more closely interested, for upon its margin is the Port of Hiogo, opened by the treaty to the commerce of the West.

This port is situated in the Bay of Ohosaka, opposite to the celebrated city of that name, from which it is ten or twelve miles distant. The Japanese Government have expended vast sums in their engineering efforts to improve its once dangerous anchorage. A breakwater, which was erected at a prodigious expense, and which cost the lives of numbers of workmen, has proved sufficient for the object for which it was designed. There is a tradition that a superstition existed in connection with this dyke, to the effect that it would never be finished unless an individual could be found sufficiently patriotic to suffer himself to be buried in it. A Japanese Curtius was not long in forthcoming, to whom a debt of gratitude will be due in all time to come, from every British ship that rides securely at her anchor behind the breakwater.

Hiogo has now become the port of Ohosaka and

Miaco, and will, in all probability, be the principal port of European trade in the Empire. The city is described as equal in size to Nagasaki. When Kæmpfer visited it, he found three hundred junks at anchor in its bay.

The Dutch describe Ohosaka as a more attractive resort than even Yedo. While this latter city may be regarded as the London of Japan, Ohosaka seems to be its Paris. Here are the most celebrated theatres, the most sumptuous tea-houses, the most extensive pleasure-gardens. It is the abode of luxury and wealth, the favourite resort of fashionable Japanese, who come here to spend their time in gaiety and pleasure. Ohosaka is one of the five imperial cities, and contains a vast population. It is situated on the left bank of the Jedogawa, a stream which rises in the Lake of Oity, situated a day and a half's journey in the interior. It is navigable for boats of large tonnage as far as Miaco, and is spanned by numerous handsome bridges.

The port of Hiogo and city of Ohosaka will not be opened to Europeans until the 1st of January 1863. The foreign residents will then be allowed to explore the country in any direction, for a distance of twenty-five miles, except towards Miaco, or, as it is more properly called, Kioto. They will not be allowed to approach nearer than twenty-five miles to this far-famed city.

As the Dutch have constantly been in the habit of passing through Kioto, it is probable that before very

long this restriction will be removed, and Europeans will be permitted to visit what is, without question, the most interesting spot in the Empire. If Yedo is the London, and Ohosaka the Paris, Kioto is certainly the Rome of Japan. It is here that the spiritual Emperor resides, and that enormous ecclesiastical Court by which he is surrounded, and which is called the Dairi, is permanently fixed. It is here that the celebrated tomb of the Great Taiko Sama, the most famous of Japanese temporal Emperors, is situated; and here are to be seen the most magnificent and imposing temples of which the Empire can boast. The population of Kioto is said to be half a million, and it has had the reputation of being the principal manufacturing town in the Empire. Had we then known how little our presence was needed at Shanghai, we might have been the first foreign ship to visit the new port of Hiogo. Unfortunately, however, the period fixed upon by the Commissioners for their arrival from Pekin was already passed, and Lord Elgin felt bound to push on with all speed to meet them at the appointed rendezvous. We afterwards found that any anxiety in this respect was misplaced, for, with true Chinese indifference, they had postponed their journey for many weeks. Meanwhile we were ploughing the rough seas of Japan in hot haste, a gale of wind astern driving us more rapidly than we cared for to the unloved shores of China. Cape Tchichachoff, our old enemy, though we had reason to be thankful to him for friendly shelter, looked

more inhospitable than ever as we swept past him. Heavy storms, strong currents, and numerous rocks, with probably many more undiscovered, combine to render navigation on the shores of Japan a somewhat anxious undertaking. Fortunately we had passed the straits of Van Diemen before the tail of a typhoon caught us suddenly, carrying away everything that was set, and rendering an immediate reference to the law of storms necessary. There can be little doubt that the application of this law saved us some heavy weather; for instead of holding on our course, we fairly turned tail, and fled from the circle of its influence.

Count Poutiatine, in the large frigate to which he had now transferred his flag, was less fortunate. She suffered so severely in the same storm, that she was compelled to put into Nagasaki to refit. We were perfectly contented with our allowance, nevertheless, and spent a period of much anxiety, in consequence of the risks to which our lacquer was exposed. Captain Osborn had most good-naturedly permitted us to stow it away on the main deck, for our cabins were incapable of containing a fourth part of our purchases; but as the main deck was often ankle-deep in water, the fate of our Japanese curiosities caused us serious misgivings.

There was, moreover, that constant struggle between a desire for air and light, and a dread of shipping seas, so familiar to those who have made voyages in hot latitudes. Once only was I tempted to trice

up my port, and had hardly done so before I paid dearly for my indiscretion. Five thousand cheroots, a small Japanese dog that was accidentally visiting me, all my boots, and a considerable part of my wardrobe, were swimming together in hopeless confusion, and the weather continued so bad that two or three days elapsed before I could dry them. The dog was ever after a martyr to cramp in his loins.

In spite of all these misadventures we made the passage from Yedo to Shanghai in a week, and had the satisfaction of announcing to our friends there, whom we had left scarce a month before, that this short interval had sufficed to enable Lord Elgin to open a new market to the British merchant, and one from which those residing at this port would most immediately benefit.

CHAPTER XIII.

EFFECTS OF THE CHINESE CLIMATE—THE AMENITIES OF SHANGHAI —ARRIVAL OF THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONERS—CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO CANTON—PEACE PROCLAMATION—APPOINTMENT OF SUB-COMMISSION—OUR CHINESE COLLEAGUES—DAILY CONFERENCES—RATE OF THE NEW TARIFF—TRANSIT DUTIES—COLLECTION OF FOREIGN CUSTOMS—THE OPIUM TRADE—MR REED'S DESPATCH ON OPIUM—REPLY OF LORD ELGIN—FINAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE QUESTION—VISIT OF THE COMMISSIONERS—THE JOVIAL HO—A DINNER WITH THE COMMISSIONERS—THE RESIDENT MINISTER AT PEKIN—PROPOSED EXPEDITION UP THE YANG-TSE-KIANG—SIGNING THE TRADE REGULATIONS—DEPARTURE FROM SHANGHAI.

THE first intelligence which we received upon our return to Shanghai was not of a nature calculated to console us for our hurried flight from Japan. It appeared that the departure of the Imperial Commissioners from Pekin had been postponed for some weeks, an interval which we might have spent with pleasure and profit in making excursions in the neighbourhood of Yedo, or exploring the Suwonada Sea. In default of any such excitement, we found ourselves thrown upon our own resources at Shanghai, at a period of the year when the climate seems to be

most trying to European constitutions, though the temperature was not so high as it had been six weeks previously.

We had now been for nearly eighteen months knocking about on the coast of China, and the results were beginning to manifest themselves. Mr Loch went home on sick certificate, taking with him the Japanese treaty. Of those that remained, all of us had more or less suffered from the effects of climate; and the hot days, chilly evenings, and malarious exhalations of Shanghai, were not calculated to remove a tendency to ague, where such existed. Our own experience enabled us, without any difficulty, to credit the fact which is established by the official returns, that the China station is the most unhealthy to which our ships are sent, the sickness and mortality being greater here than even on the west coast of Africa.

Meantime the period of our return home seemed more remote than ever. We were reminded of a Japanese fable, which seemed not altogether inappropriate to our condition. A moth is said to exist in Japan, so beautiful that all the night-flies fall in love with it. To get rid of their importunity, she sends them to bring her fire; and her rash admirers, in their ardent attempts to do her bidding, are consumed in a flame, fatal alike to themselves and their aspirations. Moral—Beware how you allow yourself to become a night-fly in the service of your country.

As Shanghai is situated in a flat and highly culti-

vated country, intersected by canals and ditches, and traversed by narrow footpaths, driving is impossible, and riding attended with discomfort, if not actual risk, the pleasure of crawling at a foot-pace in Indian file being varied only by the excitement of crossing a single-log bridge. The enterprising community of Shanghai, to compensate for these drawbacks, have constructed a race-course, round which equestrians gyrate daily, as though they were being lounged. Those who prefer gossip to exercise frequent the bund, a broad quay which extends along the whole length of the settlement, and which is crowded with Chinese porters all the morning, and sprinkled with European ladies and gentlemen in the afternoon.

Sportsmen who do not mind foul odours may plod through cotton-fields all day and return home well satisfied with their luck if they bag a brace of pheasants to each gun. And pedestrians have been known to sacrifice their noses to their livers, and take long walks into the wearisome country for the good of their health. Rackets, American bowls, and billiards afford relaxation to a large section of society; and now and then a ball, at which the proportion of gentlemen to ladies is ten to one, or an amateur theatrical entertainment, infuses a little animation into the world.

As the utmost harmony and hospitality characterised the community during our stay at Shanghai, we found it infinitely the most agreeable place of residence in China, and the month which elapsed

prior to the arrival of the Commissioners slipped rapidly by. We occupied the handsome residence of the British Consul, and experienced some relief, after our long confinement on ship-board, in the comfort of its spacious apartments.

On the 3d of October the four Commissioners, Kweiliang and Hwashana, Ming and Twan, arrived at Shanghai. As Lord Elgin had been disappointed in his desire to see the Canton braves summarily chastised, it became incumbent upon him to accomplish by moral pressure what had better have been achieved by physical force; before, therefore, consenting to an interview with the Commissioners, his Excellency addressed certain inquiries to them with reference to the conduct of Hwang, the successor to Yeh, as Governor-General of the province of Kwang-tung, and to the appointment of a war committee, which had been instrumental in raising braves for the purpose of harassing our garrison in Canton. Until a satisfactory reply was made to these inquiries, his Excellency declined to enter upon any business with the Imperial Commissioners.

The Committee for the organisation of militia, or braves, was principally under the direction of these political adventurers, well known for their turbulent character, and who were now seeking to win promotion by making themselves prominent as the leaders of that patriotic party who had sworn to devote themselves to the extermination of barbarians. The names of these men were Lung, Lo, and Su.

We had good reason to suppose, and we were afterwards confirmed in this belief, that these men were acting in accordance with secret instructions from Pekin, directly opposed to protestations of amity which the Commissioners were at this moment making in behalf of the Emperor.

With reference to the subjects referred to in Lord Elgin's despatch, the Imperial Commissioners stated that the news of the treaty had not yet reached Canton, nor the treaty itself been officially promulgated; that Hwang had therefore not changed his policy; and that as to the "high officers, Lung, Lo, and Su, they are gentlemen and literates, who have had the honour to receive the Emperor's commands to superintend the organisation of militia. This is so in every province; it is not in Kwang-tung alone. Wherever the country is unsettled, it is the business of the gentry who superintend the organisation of the militia to be the first informed."

They proposed, however, to order Hwang to issue the following proclamation, and to publish it extensively themselves:—

"*Draft Proclamation.*

"The Commissioners hereby Give Notice that a Treaty of Peace to endure for ever, between China and England, France and America, has been concluded by them at Tientsin; and as they are indeed apprehensive that the same may not be generally known to the gentry, merchants, and population at

large of the different ports, they deem it right to issue a proclamation to that effect.

"They accordingly proclaim to the merchants, and all other persons of the different ports, that a good understanding is evermore to endure and increase between the Chinese and the foreigners of all nations; and that they are together to share the enjoyment of comfort and advantage. Such is the earnest hope of the Commissioners. Let none disobey.

"Attend!

"Attend!

"A Special Proclamation."

So far from accepting this communication as a satisfactory answer to his demands, Lord Elgin announced to the Commissioners in reply, that, "after all that has happened, he cannot accept any measure short of the removal of the Governor-General, and the withdrawal of the special powers with which the gentry are invested, as proof of the sincerity of the Imperial Government in its desire for the establishment and maintenance of peaceful relations between the two countries."

In reply, the Commissioners promised to obtain the removal of Hwang, and the withdrawal of their powers from the War Committee.

This matter being so far satisfactorily arranged, the Commissioners express their readiness to enter upon the consideration of the revision of the tariff and the settlement of trade regulations—this being the

ostensible object of their journey from Pekin. In the mean time the Governor-General of the Two Kiangs, Ho-kwei-tsick, joins them as Imperial Commissioners, and is reputed to bring to their councils the most subtle intellect as well as the most liberal mind. The population over which his supreme administrative functions extend is about equal to that of Great Britain and Ireland.

In order to discuss the details of the tariff and trade regulations, a commission was appointed, consisting, on the part of the Chinese Government, of Wang the Provincial Treasurer, and Sieh the Provincial Judge; and on the part of the English, of Mr Wade and myself. It was arranged that Mr Lay should also be present, though not as one of the Commission. In his despatch to the Commissioners upon this subject, Lord Elgin states, "that the peculiar nature of Mr Lay's relation to the Chinese authorities has alone prevented the undersigned from officially attaching that gentleman to the Commission above nominated. As, however, it is most important that, in a matter involving such grave interests on both sides, neither party should be deprived of the experience and information which Mr Lay can bring to bear upon the subject, it is his wish that that gentleman should be present at the meetings of the Commission."

These meetings took place at a building called the Ye-shi Yuen, situated at the further extremity of the city, nearly four miles distant from the consulate: the

daily journey thither in chairs, through the narrow reeking streets of Shanghai, was certainly, if not the most arduous, the least pleasant part of our duties. Our Chinese colleagues were both agreeable intelligent men. The Treasurer, Wang, though superior in rank to the Judge, took little part in the discussions. His experience of barbarians had been limited, and his principal recommendation lay in his gentle conciliatory manner, and the absence of any marked

Sieh, late Taoutai of Shanghai.

antipathy towards foreigners. It was in Sieh that the Imperial Commissioners reposed all their con-

fidence. For many years Taoutai or Intendant at Shanghai, there is certainly no Chinese mandarin in the Empire whose intercourse with foreigners has been so extensive, or whose views upon foreign policy are so enlightened. There can be little doubt that, had the advice of Sieh been attended to, the Chinese Government would not recently have committed an act which now calls for a heavy retribution.

At that time his opinion carried great weight in the councils of the Imperial Commissioners, while he was to a large extent influenced by his colleague in the service of the Chinese Government, Mr Lay. As our approach was always signified by a runner in advance, we invariably found these high functionaries standing at the door, waiting to receive us with a profusion of ctsin-ctsins. Then we ascended to a cool upper chamber, commanding an extensive view of upturned house-tops; and here with due solemnity, assisted by a consumption of tobacco which would have quickened the intellect of a Wouter Van Twiller, and refreshed by copious relays of almond and ordinary tea, we transacted the business of the day. When it was over, we were regularly pressed to partake of a repast which was laid out for us in a lower room. This part of the ceremony we usually found a pretext for escaping. It would have been a breach of politeness, however, to have invariably declined to be thus entertained after our labours, though it involved the consumption of much grease and many unknown viands, and usually terminated

in a drinking-match of hot samshu, with the Judge—he being naturally of a jovial temperament, and averse to heel-taps.

It is scarcely necessary here to do more than state briefly the result of our labours, and the arrangements we finally came to with reference to trade regulations and tariff, more particularly as the details are given at some length in the Blue-Book; there are, however, some points which merit a brief notice.

The general principle upon which the tariff was based, in accordance with the Treaty, was the imposition of specific duties of import and export, calculated on an *ad valorem* rate of five per cent. In the case of imports, this principle was adhered to very strictly; in exports, however, it was necessary to apply it with some reserve, as, for instance, in the case of silk, in which the French had a special interest, and where the duty already levied was lower than the five-per-cent rate. In consideration of this advantage, certain reasonable concessions were made in other duties.

Our discussions, however, were not limited to a consideration of the export and import trade of China alone—the coasting trade claimed a due share of our attention, and various restrictions which had hitherto operated most prejudicially upon foreigners trading between different ports in the Empire were removed. As, however, the native junk traffic was likely to be seriously affected by the new regulations upon this head, it did not seem fair to refuse every concession

in its favour; and in consequence of the urgent representation of the judge Sieh, the export of pulse and bean-cake from the new ports of Teng-chow and New Chwang, under the British flag, was prohibited. This trade is chiefly carried on with Shanghai, some thousands of the sailors engaged in it belonging to that city. An act which should deprive these men of the means of earning their livelihood, the Chinese Commissioners feared would in all probability create serious riots and local disturbances.

More difficult of arrangement were the details involved in that article of the Treaty which provides for the commutation of the transit-dues, and the scope and object of which I have already described. It was finally arranged that this commutation should be limited to a sum not exceeding one-half of the tariff-duties, except in the case of the duty-free goods, which should be liable to a transit-duty of 2½ per cent *ad valorem*. The importance of this regulation, as affecting certain articles, and more especially tea, may be gathered from the fact that a transit-duty, at the rate of nearly 100 per cent, has in some cases been said to have been levied on this commodity. "If I am not misinformed," says Mr Reed,* in a letter to Lord Elgin on the subject, "the transit-duties on tea alone often amount to quite as much as the article itself, and the hope is reasonable that the new treaty will very much reduce them." The present export duty on tea in China is about one-tenth of that which

* *Blue-Book*, p. 393.

we levy on its import into this country, and its transit due is now reduced to half the former amount.

Involved in the consideration of this most important clause affecting the transit-dues was also the regulation of the conditions under which certificates should be issued, both in the case of exports and imports. These details were often complicated and difficult; the more so, as we had no experience or precedent to guide us in framing them.

But perhaps the most important rule in the trade regulations is that which provides for the collection of duties under one system at all the ports; and in which it is stipulated that the high officer appointed by the Chinese Government to superintend foreign trade shall be at liberty, of his own choice, and independently of the suggestion or nomination of any British authority, to select any British subject he may see fit to aid him in the administration of the Customs Revenue. In pursuance of the plan thus adopted by the Chinese Government, they have applied through Mr Lay for Englishmen to assist him in the important department over which he presides, and twelve gentlemen have already left this country for China, to supply the place of Chinese employés in the collection of the foreign customs. Although the recent rupture has prevented this system from coming into operation, there can be no doubt that it will be the one ultimately adopted.

It will readily be conceived that the Imperial Government would not have consented thus to substitute

foreigners for its own subjects, had not a painful experience taught it that it would be impossible, under any other system, to check those malpractices by which the revenue was so extensively defrauded. Unfortunately the corruption was not confined to Chinese officials alone. Foreign merchants were too often induced to take advantage of the ready unscrupulousness of the customhouse officers, and a system was in vogue which, if persisted in, would have exercised a most demoralising influence generally. Doubtless the illegal traffic in opium, so extensively carried on as a notoriously contraband trade, largely contributed to produce the same effect; and so keenly alive was Lord Elgin to the serious nature of the evils produced by the trade in opium, as carried out, that he determined not to shrink from applying the only remedy which appeared to him practicable. The views by which he was actuated in dealing with this question are fully set forth in a correspondence which passed between him and Mr Reed, the American Minister, who came out to China with a strong bias against the opium trade, and with instructions from his Government, conceived in the same spirit, but who nevertheless became an advocate of the legalisation of the trade, from witnessing the abuses to which its contraband character gave rise.

In that correspondence, referring to the disinclination which Lord Elgin had evinced to press the matter, when at Tientsin, Mr Reed observes : "I have more than once understood your Excellency to

say that you had a strong, if not invincible, repugnance, involved as Great Britain already was in hostilities at Canton, and having been compelled in the north to resort to the influence of threatened coercion, to introduce the subject of opium to the consideration of the Chinese authorities. Yet I am confident, unless the initiative is taken by your Excellency, things must continue as they are, with all their shame; and I appeal to your Excellency's high sense of duty, so often and so strongly expressed to this helpless though perverse people, whether we, the representatives of Western and Christian nations, ought to consider our work done without some attempt to induce or compel an adjustment of the pernicious difficulty. In such an attempt I shall cordially unite." After alluding to the possibility of putting a stop to the growth of opium in India, Mr Reed goes on to say: "Of effective prohibition, and this mainly through the inveterate appetite of the Chinese, I am not sanguine; and I therefore more confidently, though not more earnestly, call your Excellency's attention to the only other course open to us—attempt to persuade the Chinese to put such high duties on the drug as will restrain the supply, regulate the import, and yet not stimulate some other form of smuggling, with or without the connivance of the Chinese. The economical arguments in favour of this course are so fully stated in the accompanying paper, that I need not allude to them further."

In his reply to this communication, Lord Elgin

states : " I so cordially assent to the views expressed by your Excellency in reference to the opium trade, that I do not think it necessary to dwell on this part of your letter. I would only venture to observe, on this head, that when I resolved not to press this matter upon the attention of the Chinese Commissioners at Tientsin, I did so, not because I questioned the advantages which would accrue from the legalisation of the traffic, but because I could not reconcile it to my sense of right to urge the Imperial Government to abandon its traditional policy in this respect, under the kind of pressure which we were bringing to bear upon it at Tientsin.

" The circumstances under which this question will come up for discussion in the conferences on the subject of the tariff, which are now being held at this place, are happily different; and I shall not fail to instruct the gentlemen who are acting for me on this occasion to call the attention of the officers of the Chinese Government, with whom they are negotiating, to the considerations so ably stated in your letter. I have little doubt but that it will be found that legalisation is the only available remedy for the evils which have attracted your Excellency's notice, because I am confident that, even if the other difficulties to which you advert could be removed, it would be found practically impossible to suppress the traffic in an article so easily raised and transported, and the demand for which in this country is so great that when the supply, from some cause or

another, has fallen short, the price has, I am informed, even within the last few years, risen occasionally to upwards of one thousand dollars per chest—a sum exceeding, I should presume, five times the cost of production."

In pursuance of this view, it was represented to the Commissioners that many abuses connected with the traffic in opium would be obviated if the drug, which was already practically legalised by the surreptitious levy of a duty upon it by officers of the Government, was placed upon the footing of other imports. The Commissioners concurred in this opinion, and opium was inserted in the tariff as liable to a duty of thirty taels per chest. A marked distinction was, however, established between this article and other imports. I have already explained that, by the new regulation, foreigners were empowered to convey their goods into the interior of the country, and that the goods so conveyed were liable to a duty not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent *ad valorem*. From these advantages the trade in opium was expressly excluded. The Chinese Commissioners observed, that abuses and collisions with the authorities might arise if foreigners were permitted to carry this drug into the country, and force it into the markets of the interior. Lord Elgin concurred in this opinion; and, further, deeming an article of this description a very proper subject for taxation, he agreed that the stipulation respecting transit-duties, to which I have referred, should not apply to

it. None of the new privileges, therefore, acquired under Lord Elgin's treaty, were extended to opium. It remained on the footing on which general imports stood under the provisions of the Treaty of Nankin. Foreigners could enter it at the open ports upon payment of a duty of thirty taels a chest, but it was then to pass into Chinese hands, and to become subject to such charges as the Chinese Government might see fit to impose upon it.

As affairs were now in an amicable train, it was arranged that the Imperial Commissioners should pay a grand visit of ceremony to Lord Elgin, and, accordingly, on the 16th of October a large portion of the Shanghai community repaired to the Bund to witness the long uncouth procession, which extended almost from one end of it to the other, and consisted of a most miscellaneous collection of spearmen and bannermen, mounted attendants, and footmen with tall conical red caps—many of them extremely ragged as to costume, regard being apparently had rather to the quantity than the quality of the escort. A great deal of shouting and discordant music heralded the approach of this tattered *cortège*. In the midst of it were the five Commissioners in state chairs, preceded and followed by lesser dignitaries in humble chairs.

An interval of nearly four months had elapsed since we had parted with the two senior Commissioners, Kweiliang and Hwashana, at Tientsin, so that when Lord Elgin received them at the front-door, a cordial greeting, as between old friends, took place.

Although they had never before seen a European house, they manifested an orthodox Chinese indifference at the novel arrangements which now for the first time were presented to their view, and, being seated in proper order, the whole party were soon overwhelming each other with the compliments appropriate to the occasion.

We did indeed remark a much greater ease and affability on the part of our guests than had characterised their demeanour at Tientsin; they were evidently actuated by a strong desire to soothe to the uttermost "our uncontrollable fierceness," and took a great apparent interest in Lord Elgin's description of the Transatlantic Telegraph, the news of the success of which had just reached us. The most vivacious of the party was the Governor-General Ho: so excited did he become upon a glass of Curaçoa at luncheon, that with a flushed face he began an energetic recital of his functions at Pekin, as the Emperor's amanuensis, entering at last into such particulars concerning that high personage, and the etiquette of his court, that his colleagues became alarmed at his garrulous propensities, and my strong-headed friend the Judge unceremoniously possessed himself of the next glass which the jovial Ho was about to imbibe, and tossed it down his own throat with an apologetic remark, tapping his forehead, that Ho was weak in this respect—a statement confirmed by Ho himself, who naïvely informed us that his face was red in consequence of the wine having got into his head.

The Judge afterwards told me that in all other respects but that of drink, Ho's head was strong. At the age of twenty-four he had taken the highest scholastic honours in the Empire. His literary labours were as extensive as his imagination was brilliant. He was regarded as one of the finest of Chinese poets, and so skilful in transcribing his thoughts that, before his eyesight had become dimmed from work, he could write a whole poem on a melon seed. At this particular juncture, Ho was divided between a desire to conciliate us and chastise the rebels. He evidently considered intoxicating himself, at a barbarian meal, a masterstroke of policy. In a few days he was to repair to the camp of the Imperialist forces, and attack the rebels, who were committing some depredations in the neighbourhood of Nankin. When Lord Elgin informed the party that he wished to retain a more lasting impression of individuals for whom he had so high a regard than his memory could furnish, and explained to them that Mr Jocelyn was prepared to take their photographs, they expressed great gratification, and readily took up the required positions, and went through the necessary rigidity of countenance—a simple operation to a Chinaman, who considers it at all times undignified to allow any expression to appear on his face.

On the 18th, Lord Elgin returned the visit of the Imperial Commissioners, with a procession of twelve chairs, accompanied by a guard of a hundred marines, and preceded by the band of the Retribution.

An elaborate repast was provided for our entertainment upon this occasion, comprising a more than usual array of Chinese culinary delicacies. The communicative Ho plied Lord Elgin with questions about the government and constitution of England, and showed a greater amount of intelligence and interest in the subject than I had ever before remarked in a Chinaman; even Hwashana, the uncompromising, unbent so far as occasionally to enjoy a joke; while Kweiliang, always anxious to be amiable, constructed pyramids of edibles upon the plates of his neighbours; altogether, our friends seemed gradually to be attaining a better frame of mind, and expressed themselves well pleased with the harmony which characterised our diplomatic intercourse, and full of anxiety for its continuance. There was, however, still one point in reserve, to which the Commissioners had not yet alluded, but the importance of which was so great in the eyes of the Imperial Government that it had led to their special mission to Shanghai. Like the postscript in a lady's letter, however, it had been kept till the last, but the time had now come when the dreaded subject was to be broached, and the effect which their amiability had produced upon the mind of the British Plenipotentiary was to be tested.

As this point was none other than that involved in the third article of the Treaty of Tientsin—according to Great Britain, the right of a resident minister at Pekin—and as the correspondence which ensued in consequence is especially interesting at the present

juncture, I have given it along with the Treaty,* in order that the reader may learn the grounds of objection of the Chinese to the enforcement of this treaty-right, and the view which Lord Elgin took in consequence.

The result of this correspondence was, that although the treaty-right was not waived, Lord Elgin promised to submit it as his opinion, "that if her Majesty's Ambassador be properly received at Pekin when the ratifications are exchanged next year, and full effect given in all other particulars to the treaty negotiated at Tientsin, it would certainly be expedient that her Majesty's representative in China choose a place of residence elsewhere than at Pekin, and to make his visits to the capital either periodical, or only as frequent as the exigencies of the public service may require."

The Commissioners expressed themselves satisfied with this concession, and Lord Elgin determined to take advantage of the temper in which they then were, and their evident desire to satisfy any minor demands in order to gain the one point, to state his determination of proceeding up the Yang-tse-Kiang, "in order that, by personal inspection, he might be the better enabled to judge what ports along its shores it would be most advisable to open, in conformity with the Treaty of Tientsin."

His Excellency had long previously determined to make this expedition before leaving China, not merely for the purpose above alluded to, but with the view

* See Appendix, vol. I.

of creating a wholesome moral impression upon the minds of the people upon its banks, one which should be felt throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. He scarcely, however, expected an occasion so opportune as that which now presented itself. So far from making any objection to a proposal which, a few months before, would have caused each particular Commissioner's tail to stand on end, they state calmly: "It is our duty to acknowledge this letter, and at the same time to prepare letters, advising the authorities along the line of your coming. We will also send officers to accompany you with letters, that there may be a satisfactory understanding on both sides."

In the mean time Baron Gros returned from Japan, where he had been equally successful with ourselves. From him we learned, for the first time, the scarcely credible intelligence to which I have already alluded, of the Emperor's death six weeks before. The fact had been made public prior to his arrival, and the city of Yedo was mourning profoundly for the departed Tycoon during the whole period of his residence in it.

On the 30th October the Commissioners returned Lord Elgin's visit in state, and the project of the Yang-tse-Kiang expedition was discussed. It only remained to obtain the concurrence of Baron Gros and Mr Reed to the tariff and trade regulations, as agreed upon between the British and Chinese governments, preparatory to their being formally signed.

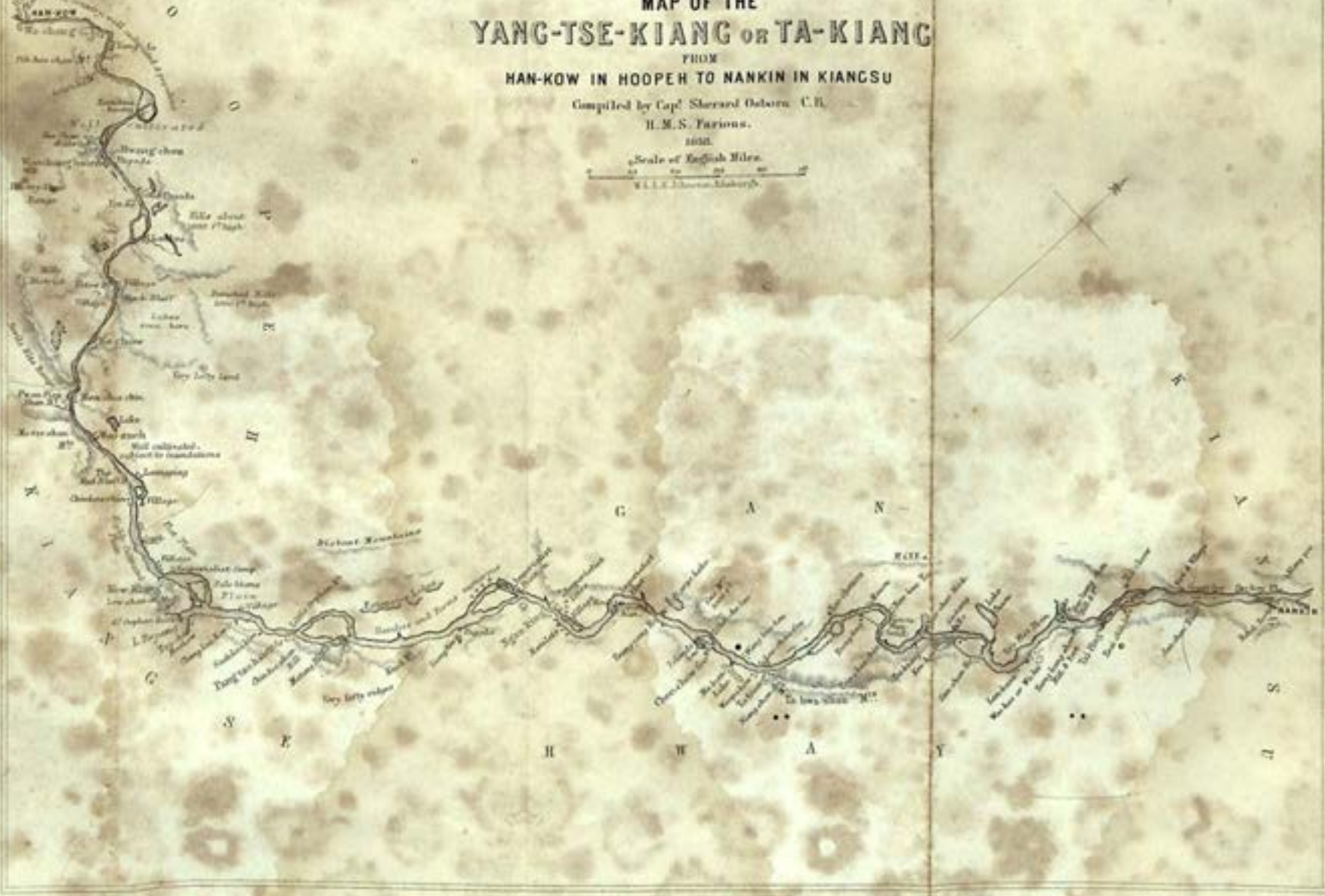
The harmony which had characterised Lord Elgin's intercourse with both his colleagues throughout, was not destined now to be interrupted. They thoroughly assented to the stipulations contained in these important addenda to the Treaty of Tientsin; and on the 8th of November the British and Chinese Commissioners met at a temple situated on the outskirts of the city, and affixed their signatures to these documents.

While thus engaged we could see the Furious in the river snorting and pawing like an impatient race-horse, puffing off sharp jets of steam, and lashing the water angrily with her paddles. It was not Lord Elgin's habit to keep her long waiting. We proceeded straight from the Temple to our floating home. In a few moments more we were dashing through a maze of shipping, in a style peculiar to our gallant ship and its gallant commander, and had proceeded several miles up the broad bosom of the Yang-tse-Kiang before the shades of night compelled us to drop anchor in its little-known waters.

MAP OF THE
YANG-TSE-KIANG OR TA-KIANG
FROM
HAN-KOW IN HOOPEH TO NANKIN IN KIANGSU

Compiled by Capt. Sherard Osborn. C.B.
H.M.S. Furious.
1858.

Scale of English Miles.



CHAPTER XIV

ALL THE SHIPS AGROUND—THE DELTA OF THE YANG-TSE—CHANNEL-HUNTING—THE KIANG-YIN BLUFFS—ASPECT OF THE RIVER BANKS—HARD AND FAST—SILVER ISLAND—YANG-CHOW—A SCENE OF DESOLATION—CHINKIANG—EFFECTS OF REBEL OCCUPATION—GOLDEN ISLAND—MAGNIFICENT VIEW—OFF THE ROCK—TAN-TOO—TRANSLATION OF CHINESE NAMES—CHINESE ORTHOGRAPHY—ENTRANCE TO THE GRAND CANAL—ABSENCE OF JUNK TRAFFIC—APPROACH TO NANKIN—ACTION WITH THE REBELS AT NANKIN—ITS RESULTS.

THE ships which composed the squadron that accompanied Lord Elgin upon his voyage up the Yang-tse-Kiang were the Retribution, Captain Barker, senior officer commanding; the Furious, Captain Sherard Osborn; the Cruizer, Commander Bythesea; the Dove, surveying gunboat, Commander Ward, and the Lee gunboat, Lieutenant (now Commander) Jones.

In order to give as clear and detailed an account as possible of this most successful and interesting expedition, I shall extract from my journal the daily record of events.

9th November.—All our squadron are in sight this morning, but we are dotted about the yellow waters of the Yang-tse in a somewhat irregular fashion. The Cruizer, which had preceded us yesterday, discovered

a sandbank before nightfall, upon which she reposed for many hours, the receding tide leaving her so high and dry, that it was found necessary to shore her up, and her officers were enabled to enjoy their exercise in the afternoon by walking round her, without wetting their feet. She got off with the high tide, however, and is now at anchor some miles ahead. The Dove and Lee are exploring for a channel; we move on gently in obedience to their signals: the Retribution, drawing more water than any of us, follows cautiously, but nevertheless takes the bottom; the Dove goes to her assistance, and we are left to find our own way, which we don't succeed in doing, but ground hopelessly at the top of high water on hard sand. Before dark the Retribution gets off and comes to our assistance, slowly feeling her way, as a man does on weak ice when he goes to rescue a friend who has tumbled in.

It soon becomes evident that we have no alternative but to lighten the ship, and all night long the crew are engaged transferring to the Lee the heavy guns and coal, and pumping the water from the boilers.

10th.—We have already learnt to place no reliance on any of the Admiralty charts of the Yang-tse. However accurately the survey may have originally been, the changes which have taken place in the bed of the river since they were made are so great that we have only our instinct for deep water to depend upon. At the spot on which we are now aground, nine fathoms are marked in the chart. Meanwhile twenty-four

hours of most incessant and arduous exertions, on the part of both officers and men, have lightened the ship sufficiently to enable the powerful Retribution to drag her off by main force.

The Dove and Lee have found the channel at last, and before nightfall we are all anchored together in the Fairway, under Harvey Point. The breadth of the river is still so great that the opposite shore, which is flat, is not visible.

11*th*.—Fortune seems inclined to smile upon us to-day. We move rapidly and freely along, with plenty of water and a fair wind. As we pass the spot marked in the chart as the end of Tsung-ming Island, we observe an unexpected continuation of the shore, which seems to connect this island with the land formerly known as Mason Island, blocking up completely the channel marked in the charts as dividing them. It is not improbable that this important physical change in the delta of the Yang-tse-Kiang may have altered the direction of the current, and diverted a larger portion of it through the northern channel, which may now be found to be the most available for navigation.

Beyond this the river begins to narrow rapidly. At Fooshan, the Hill of Peace, it is not above six miles in breadth. A village and fort are here picturesquely situated on some low hills on the right bank. On the opposite shore a high conical hill is visible, crowned by a pagoda known as Langshan or Wolf's Hill. We are just congratulating ourselves

on our rapid progress, when the gunboats in advance run up the hated signal, "No Channel," and, splitting off in opposite directions, skirmish cautiously about in search of deep water.

It is a pretty sight to watch these trusty little craft, acting as pioneers to the three large ships which follow carefully in their track some distance astern; ever on the alert to respond to the caution-signal, and placing in them that sort of confidence which a sportsman does in his dogs. Now they are ranging the river far and wide; now they are pointing; we creep up gently, they creep on as gently; the scent seems good: now they are at fault, they throw up their noses, and away again to the right and left, signalling every cast of the lead. We keep under easy steam for a while, reading the flags as they are run up; two fathoms, two and a half, three, two—it is of no use, so we let go the anchor, pipe suppers, and make all snug for the night.

12*th*.—This is a busy but unsuccessful day; ship's boats as well as gunboats are out channel-hunting. There must be a passage somewhere just in front of us,—six fathoms are marked on the chart. We pull to the spot, and touch the bottom with a boat-hook; so it is clearly not there. The Dove has harked back and is out of sight; may she bring back good news to-morrow. Meantime we stay where we are.

13*th*.—Nothing could be more enjoyable than the temperature at this time of year in the Yang-tse-Kiang; but these lovely days only aggravate us, so

long as we are chained to one spot. At night the Dove returned, with the welcome intelligence that she has found a channel.

14*th.*—Under weigh at daylight. We are compelled to retrace our steps for about six miles; then we cross over to the northern shore, and find a deep broad lead, along which we steam freely for the remainder of the day. The river is still very wide and the shores flat, until we reach the Kiang-yin bluffs, behind which is situated the city of the same name. The Cruizer, with her limited horse-power, has not been able to keep up with us, so we anchor here a little before sunset.

15*th.*—At the Kiang-yin bluffs the river narrows considerably, and presents scenery of a somewhat picturesque character. Two batteries are built so as to command this pass, but in such a way that their flank might very easily be turned. After rounding the hills, one of which is crowned with a temple, we open up the tall pagoda of Kiang-yin. A great quantity of junks crowded the creek leading to the town. In rear was a range of hills of moderate elevation, between which and the river margin intervened a strip of pleasantly-wooded country. Beyond this the river again expands; the banks once more sink to a dull uniform level, and the only signs of life are people cutting the enormous bulrushes which fringe them.

We observed large flights of wild-geese and ducks passing southward. As the wind was ahead, and the

current strong, we took the Cruizer in tow. The Retribution performed the same kind office for the Dove and Lee, whose tubes wanted cleaning. Our progress to-day was necessarily slow; fortunately the navigation was comparatively free from difficulty.

16*th*.—At seven o'clock this morning the thermometer stood at 37°. Shortly after getting under weigh we passed Keunshan Pagoda, perched upon a hill overhanging the river. At this point the banks become very picturesque—high rocky bluffs rise precipitously from the water's edge, and behind them a range of irregular pointed hills form a complete amphitheatre. On the left bank the shores are wooded and populous, occasionally extensively cultivated, and groups of peasants collect upon the water's edge to look at us, as the five ships progress steadily in line against both wind and stream. Here, too, we remarked extraordinary changes in the course of the river. At one place it divides; one channel, at least half a mile in width, surrounding a populous island, which, at the date of the chart, had been part of the mainland.

The sharp exhilarating air, our steady progress, and the increasing interest of the river-banks, all combined to raise our spirits. Presently we sweep round a bold projecting bluff, and Silver Island opens to view, with its quaint temples embowered in autumnal foliage; their white walls are gleaming, and their frowzy priests are basking in the mid-day sun. Beyond, a noble reach of the river curves beneath

the swelling hills which rise from its margin, their summits crowned with the irregular wall of Chin-kiang, and their slopes strewn with the debris of that once populous city; while in the distance, as though rising from mid-stream, stands a precipitous rock called Golden Island, with its tall pagoda pointing to the skies.

The scene is one of such surpassing interest and beauty that it rivets our gaze. We are just lamenting that we cannot stop for a moment to appreciate more fully its merits, when—crash, our wishes are gratified—the old ship gives a heave and a lurch. It is too late now to "stop her," and go "full speed astern." We are irrevocably pinnacled on the top of a rock; the Cruizer has barely had time to avoid running into us, and shaves cleverly past us as she sheers off. The Retribution, panic-stricken, has let go her anchor. With her gunboats swinging in mid-stream astern, she looks like a kite with a tail. The current sweeps and eddies past with impetuous velocity, and gradually succeeds in jamming us broadside on to the rock, converting us into a sort of breakwater, so that we have quite a little sea on one side, and a dead calm on the other.

We have ceased to enjoy the view now, that pleasure being transferred to our friends the priests who are apparently much interested in the spectacle. We are within easy hailing distance of them: they afterwards told us they were perfectly aware of the danger that awaited us; but they gave us no warning.

The whole British fleet, consisting of several ships of the line, besides smaller craft, had passed through this channel fifteen years before, without discovering this fatal rock, and sixteen fathoms were marked above it. We were by no means proud of our discovery, but nobody was to blame except the priests, and we were too amiable to quarrel with them, so we landed and paid them a visit. The island had been visited by the rebels at a comparatively recent date. A great part of the very handsome temple had been destroyed, and the idols cast into the river by them. A celebrated vase, reputed to be more than two thousand years old, was kept here; but on the rumoured approach of these iconoclasts, those who were intrusted with the safe keeping of this precious relic buried it in time to insure its safety, and it had not since been exhumed. A temple, which formerly stood on the highest part of the island, had been burned, more, according to the Bonzes, for the purpose of terrifying the neighbourhood than from fanaticism.

The island itself was little more than a tumulus rising out of the centre of the Yang-tse to a height of scarce two hundred feet, covered with the richest foliage, at this season of the year a blaze of fiery tints. Its highest point was still crowned with a small edifice, pagoda-shaped, but which contained nothing more interesting than the somewhat unimaginative inscriptions of the British sailor: most of these bore the date of August 1842. From this

elevated position, an extensive panoramic view was obtained over the broad, richly-cultivated plain, which stretches away to the northward, at this particular juncture the scene of rebel depredations. We could see, looming through the distant haze, the pagoda of Yang-chow, reported to be recently taken and still occupied by the rebels. It was to eject them from this city that the energetic Ho had quitted us so abruptly at Shanghai; so that this martial statesman and poet was even now in our immediate proximity. Yang-chow is situated on the Grand Canal, and was formerly reputed to be a city of great wealth and splendour; it has been on three separate occasions in the hands of the insurgents. Mr Wylie says that a famous Imperial library was kept here, of which there were only two duplicates in existence, one at Pekin, and the other at Hang-chow. This valuable collection of books, if not destroyed, is divided and completely dispersed. We could discern the houses of Kwa-chow from the top of Silver Island, well known as the entrance of the Grand Canal into the Yang-tse; and in other directions numerous villages and towns met the eye, dotted over the fertile plains, and giving evidence of a large population.

As in nature the most exquisite flowers are generally inhabited by slimy caterpillars, so in China the most lovely retreats are invariably tenanted by grimy ecclesiastics. We are bound to remember, however, that we are indebted to them for picturesque

buildings, which harmonise admirably with the scenes in which they are situated; while the priests themselves, in their long ash-coloured robes, are an agreeable addition, so long as they are kept in the background of the picture. These gentry informed us that the tidal influence extended beyond this point, but was not regular in its operations. They led us to expect, however, a rise of two or three feet,—and this we trusted would be sufficient to float us off. Meantime, in order to be the better able to take advantage of any favourable change which might occur, we commenced, for the second time, to lighten the ship, divesting her of shot, guns, spars, coal, &c., and working all through the night.

17*th*.—Landed on the right bank, and walked to Chinkiang over about two miles of plain, intersected by the remains of rough earthworks. This strip of level ground, which intervenes between a range of hills and the river, was until recently the abode of a thriving and industrious population. Scarce a year has elapsed since it was a scene of violence and bloodshed, the theatre of an action between the Rebel and Imperialist forces. The devastation is now widespread and complete. A few of the peasantry have crawled back to the desolate spots which they recognise as the sites of their former homes, and, selecting the heaps of rubbish which still belong to them, have commenced to construct out of them wretched abodes,—roughly thatching in a gable-end that has escaped the general destruction,

or replacing the stones which once composed the walls with strips of matting. Miserable patches of garden were being brought into existence between the crumbling, weed-covered walls; but the destitute appearance of the scanty population served rather to increase than diminish the effect which this abomination of desolation was calculated to produce.

We entered the city by the north gate, and might have imagined ourselves in Pompeii. We walked along deserted streets, between roofless houses, and walls overgrown with rank, tangled weeds; heaps of rubbish blocked up the thoroughfares, but they obstructed nobody. There was something oppressive in the universal stillness; and we almost felt refreshed by a foul odour which greeted our nostrils, and warned us that we had approached an inhabited street.

At a spot where were a few chow-chow shops, and two partially inhabited streets crossed each other, was the most lively place in the town. We obtained a small share of interest here from a mob of hungry, ragged boys; but the people generally seemed too much depressed even to stare at a barbarian, and we strolled unmolested in any direction our fancy led us.

On our way to a fort which crowned a bluff overhanging the river, we passed under some handsome stone arches, which were still standing conspicuous amid the desolation by which they were surrounded. From our elevated position we commanded an ex-

tensive view over the area enclosed by the walls of the city, and which was thickly strewn with its ruins.

Chinkiang was first taken by the Insurgents, almost without resistance, on the 1st of April 1853, and was held by them against a continued Imperialist siege up to the commencement of 1857, when it was evacuated in consequence of the failure of supplies. It has been held by the Imperialist forces ever since. To judge, however, from the reluctance manifested by its former inhabitants to return to it, confidence is but partially restored. Only the very poorest class of traders and shopkeepers have ventured into its dilapidated streets; and although efforts are being made by the Government to give some stimulus to its repopulation, by rebuilding some of the public buildings, such as the Government offices, the Confucian Temple, the Drum Tower, &c., the results are by no means encouraging. The rebels have, during their occupation, considerably enlarged the boundaries of the city, having carried a wall over the heights to the east of it, and down nearly to the water's edge on the bank of the river, enclosing a large space beyond the old wall in both directions. The population of Chinkiang was formerly estimated at about 500,000; it does not now probably contain above 500 souls.

18*th*.—We have painted a water-line on the rocks, so as to be able to detect the variations of the tide at a glance. As, however, there were no indica-

tions of a rise to-day, and the ship seemed immovable, we chartered a small native boat, and started off on an expedition to Golden Island, distant about five miles. As we approached it we discovered, to our astonishment, that it was no longer an island. Flourishing cabbage-fields now occupied the space marked on the chart as a channel with four fathoms of water in it.

We landed on this recently-formed peninsula, and walked across it to the Rock. Climbing up the steps hewn out of the living stone, we reached the base of the Pagoda, shorn now of those external decorations which once rendered it celebrated, but still standing, a battered monument of its own departed glory, and of the beauty by which it was surrounded.

Heaps of unsightly ruins mark the spot where once was grouped a picturesque collection of temples and pagodas. The Chinese themselves appreciated its romantic beauty. Sir John Davis thus describes the impression produced upon him by a distant view of it, obtained years before: "The celebrated Kin-shan or Golden Island, which, with its pagoda, and the ornamental roofs of its temples and other buildings, looked like a fairy creation rising out of the waters of the Kiang." "This picturesque place," he remarks, "is celebrated all over China."

Now, with the exception of the dilapidated pagoda, there is not one stone left upon another of the remaining buildings. Though so recently destroyed, a remarkable air of antiquity seems to pervade this

sacred spot. The rock-cut steps are worn and crumbling, and the ruins generally look as though centuries had passed since the destroyer's hand had been ruthlessly at work. A line of wall with a few wretched guns in the embrasures, a few wretched soldiers in some mat tents in rear, and a quantity of gay flaunting flags, indicate that this is a military post. These banners and embrasures are apparent on numerous hill-tops, and surround the city of Chinkiang. If we were to judge by them, the preparations for defence would seem extensive indeed; but it is scarcely too much to assert that there are more flags than embrasures, more embrasures than guns, and more guns than men.

We sat down on the top of the rock to discuss a sandwich and a glass of sherry, and enjoy the view. It was one of melancholy beauty. On our right the skeleton houses of the city clustering up the hill-sides, and filling the whole amphitheatre with their ruins—the straggling wall running along the ridges, gay with gaudy banners when all around is sad, and defending, as though in mockery, a dreary waste of rubbish; beyond, the irregular outline of distant hills, with the broad river spreading itself proudly out upon the fertile plains to the north and east; fronting us Silver Island, its bright colouring toned down by distance, and its soft outline contrasting with the precipitous bluffs beside it,—all combined to form a picture upon which it was pleasant to gaze in that mild autumnal afternoon.

We could discern the ships anchored in mid-stream: one which was broadside on, and leaning very much over, was a feature in the scene we could have gladly dispensed with. In the situation of Chin-kiang, its ruined state and the nature of the surrounding country, I was a good deal reminded of Kertch after its evacuation by the Russians. We walked through it on our way back, and found on our arrival at the ship some excitement existing at the prospect of getting off. The paddle-wheels were revolving violently; hawsers and stream-cables were out in sundry directions; those who were not hauling at something were jumping or rolling the ship. At last a happy and combined effort proved successful, and she seemed literally to tumble off her perch into deep water. The event was signalled by three hearty cheers from all hands, which had no sooner subsided than, to our astonishment, we heard them faintly echoed from the shore. We were wondering whether the Chinamen were mocking us when they were repeated, and we then discovered that Lord Elgin and a small party of walkers were thus heartily testifying their satisfaction. The singular stillness of the evening air rendered sounds audible at a great distance. Two hundred and sixty tons in weight had been removed from the ship before she had been sufficiently lightened to float off the rock.

19*th*.—Finding that we should be detained all day in re-embarking our heavy weights, a party of us landed on the right bank to take a stroll with our

guns and explore the country. We killed three brace of pheasants in the flat, half-cultivated, half-wild land near the margin of the river, and one of our party had a shot at a deer. We approached, but did not enter the small town of Tan-too. It has been several times in the hands of the rebels, and was the farthest point reached by them in their course seaward. It was in a more flourishing condition than Chinkiang, but prosperous only by contrast. Although it has been in the hands of the Imperialists for a much longer time than that city, a large portion of the town still remains in ruins. There has been no attempt to rebuild the temples, and many of the poorer inhabitants are living in straw huts. Mr Wylie, a gentleman connected with the American mission at Shanghai, and who accompanied the squadron for some distance up the river, told us that formerly it was a place of small but active trade, and at times a scene of busy traffic, from the number of boats passing up and down the creek on which it is situated, this being one of the outlets from the Grand Canal, at seasons when the route by Chinkiang is impassable.

20*th*.—A little after daylight this morning we bade adieu to our anchorage off Silver Island, or, as it is called by the Chinese, T'seaou Shan, or the Hill of Sorrow—so far as it had concerned us, most appropriately so named. In spite of Mr Meadows' amusing criticism upon Père Huc's practice of translating Chinese names—in some of which the latter

has perhaps given a little too loose a rein to his poetical imagination—I shall indulge with moderation in the same weakness, partly because I find that other sinalogues do not admit the force of Mr Meadows' objection; while I certainly cannot grant the truth of his analogy, upon which alone I am competent to have any opinion.

Mr Meadows very justly remarks, that it would be absurd for any Frenchman talking of "Reading," to translate it by the French word "Lecture;" but he surely is not correct when he says that it would be equally absurd to talk of "Bath" as "Bain." It may very properly be doubted whether "Reading" is the English for "Lecture;" but it is, to say the least of it, highly probable that if no "Bains" had existed at Bath, that city would have been endowed with some less significant appellation.

The name of the great river itself upon which we were now voyaging has usually received an interpretation, which I was assured by Messrs Wade and Lay was not the correct one. "The Son of the Ocean" is certainly a more poetical rendering of the word Yang-tse-Kiang than "the Son that Spreads;" but the latter is said to be its literal meaning, and this seems the more probable, as it is only applied to the river below Silver Island, where the delta commences, and its waters expand over vast alluvial plains to the sea.

Above this point the river is only known among the natives as the Ta-kiang, or "Great River," which,

if it were written as it is pronounced, would be spelt Ta-cheang.

I have, however, in this instance retained the old style of spelling, to avoid confusion. Generally, in giving the names of places upon the river-bank, I have adopted the principle of endeavouring to render with English letters the nearest possible approximation to the sound of the Chinese word. In doing so, I know that I incur the scorn and contempt of even the most amiable of Chinese sinalogues. These gentlemen have attempted, by a copious use of the alphabets of other European languages, and with the assistance of their forms of accentuation and modes of pronunciation, in addition to those contained in our own, to convey to our English ear some idea of the sounds which issue from Chinese throats and noses.

I deny that by any allocation of the letters known to civilised mortals you can impart to them the faintest notion of sounds of which they are totally ignorant. Indeed, the hopelessness of the task is pretty well proved by the fact that every sinalogue sets about it in a different way. Take, for instance, the following word, the name of a city up the river, which, according to the late Mr Morrison, is spelt Ke-chow; according to Williams, K'i-chau; according to Wade, Ch'i-chou; and according to the Jesuit maps, Khi-tcheou. As one utterly unlearned in Chinese myself, and presuming that my reader is equally ignorant of that euphonious tongue, I would recommend him to sneeze, as the easiest way of

making the same sound that a Chinaman would in alluding to the above city. The town at which we afterwards left the Retribution was spelt by the above authorities in four different ways—viz. Kew-heen, Kiu-hien, Chiu-hsien, Kieou-sien.

Let us then determine to employ a good honest Saxon pronunciation in our use of Chinese proper names, and resign the grunts and snorts which properly belong to them, to persons who have studied the art of producing those sounds. At Canton we have Anglicised the native word into something attainable by English tongues, nor do we talk of Ning-*poh*; let us not be driven into calling Pekin, Pei-ching, as the latest vocabulary has it, for, even if we did, no Chinaman would understand us.

Henceforth, then, we are to be considered as navigating the mighty waters of the Ta-kiang, and well does it deserve its high-sounding title. A little after passing Golden Island we find ourselves abreast the walled town of Kwa-chow, or the Island of Gourds. At this point the Grand Canal enters the Ta-kiang from the northward, and here formerly a dense crowd of trading junks were at all times collected. It was taken by the rebels the day after they captured Chinkiang, and was only recovered about the end of 1857. It is now a military position, and we observed a considerable body of cavalry picketed among its ruins; not a trading junk was visible on what was formerly the great highway for the internal commerce of the empire.

Lord Elgin thus alludes to the condition in which we found the Grand Canal, as bearing upon his recent policy in the north: "Soon after leaving Silver Island we passed the mouth of the Great Canal, which we found to be entirely deserted, save by a few Imperialist war-vessels. Captain Osborn informed me that, when he was at the same place in 1842, the grain-junks were so numerous that it was difficult to force a way through them. Your Lordship may perhaps remember that when, in April last, I resolved to bring pressure to bear on the Emperor by ascending the Peiho river to Tientsin, it was remarked in some quarters that we ought rather to have followed the precedent of the former war, and to have instituted a blockade in the river Yang-tse. I thought at the time that this suggestion was an anachronism, and what I have seen on this trip confirms this opinion.

"We could hardly have done more than the rebels have done to inflict suffering on the population, and render these districts unproductive to Government; and yet no effect has been produced by these proceedings on the court of Pekin."

Proceeding onwards from Kwa-chow, we passed the districts of E-ching and Luh-ho, which have frequently been the scene of Tai-ping incursions. Latterly they have been infested by rioters of another class, known among the natives by the name Nēĕ-fei, more local, but not less dreaded than the former.

* *Blue-Book*, p. 443.

The country now becomes more hilly in character, and at half-past four P.M. we pass under Ping-shan Pagoda, situated on the top of a hill, backed by irregular ranges, with valleys in deep shadow, and crests glowing in the afternoon sun. But we were getting too near Nankin to think of any other effects than those which are likely to be produced by the appearance of the Lee in front of its batteries. This gunboat, with Mr Wade on board, has been sent ahead to feel the way, and communicate with the rebels, should the latter be so disposed.* We follow, a mile

* The following is the memorandum which Lord Elgin addressed to Captain Barker upon this occasion, together with the instructions furnished by that officer to Lieutenant Jones, commanding the "Lee":—

Memorandum for Captain Barker's information.

"Collision with the rebels should, if possible, be avoided. If, therefore, the authorities in the vicinity of Nankin evince any desire to communicate, we should be prepared to give them every reasonable assurance that we do not present ourselves with hostile intentions. At the same time, it will be proper that they should be informed that we are proceeding up the river in the exercise of our treaty-rights, and that any attempt to arrest our progress, by whomsoever made, will be resisted. "ELGIN AND KINCARDINE."

Instructions addressed to Lieutenant Jones.

"It is my direction that you proceed with all possible speed towards Nankin, embarking Mr T. Wade, Chinese Secretary. Should no notice be taken of the Lee, you will proceed past Nankin, and await my joining. Should you see any boat with officials clearly approaching the Lee, you will stop and communicate. Should a shot be fired at or ahead of you, you will hoist a flag of truce, and close the fort for the purpose of communication. Should the flag of truce be fired upon, you will immediately rejoin the squadron, and under no circumstances are you to fire without signal from me.

(Signed) "C. BARKER, Captain, Senior Officer."

or so astern, the Dove leading the Retribution, the Furious towing the Cruizer.

It may be imagined with what anxious eyes we followed the little craft as she passed battery after battery, apparently unnoticed by their occupants. By this time we were passing through the fleet of Imperialist junks, which formed the advanced position of the force then investing Nankin. The crews of these vessels were watching our proceedings with breathless interest. At last, just as the Lee seemed beyond the reach of the furthest battery, the red flag was run up on all the forts, and from the lowest a round-shot was fired, which whistled over the Lee, and caused her to run up smartly the flag of truce. So far, however, from this signal producing the desired effect, it had not floated three minutes at the fore before seven shots were fired at it in rapid succession; Lieutenant Jones, true to his orders, not returning the fire until he saw the "engage" signal flying from the masthead of the Retribution. By this time the Dove had got well within range, and she opened the ball with spirit, almost at the same moment that the Lee proceeded to indemnify herself for her forbearance by a vigorous cannonade. The Retribution, Furious, and Cruizer now ranged up as close to the batteries as possible, and moving very slowly ahead, threw in a pretty hot shower of shot and shell. At this point the river is not above a thousand yards broad, with batteries on both banks, which replied warmly to our

fire, and gave abundant occupation to the starboard as well as the port guns.

Lord Elgin had taken up his position on the bridge between the paddle-boxes, but a round-shot cutting through a rope within two feet of his head, induced Captain Osborn to exert his authority as commander, and we were all ordered to the deck. Fortunately, although the ship was hulled seven or eight times, two round-shot going into Lord Elgin's cabin, and another smashing his barge, no more serious casualty occurred than a scratch from a splinter.

Meanwhile the Retribution, which was just ahead of us, did not escape so happily. She had one man killed and two wounded severely, one of whom, the signal midshipman, Mr Birch, lost an arm, and the other a leg. It was now nearly half-past five; the action had only lasted thirty-five minutes, and we had passed all the forts. As evening was closing in, it was determined to anchor for the night, about two miles above the city. Captain Barker, in consultation with Captain Osborn, then decided that the impertinence of the rebels, in offering resistance to our progress up the river, in the exercise of our treaty-right, and firing upon a flag of truce, ought not to go unpunished. In this view Lord Elgin fully concurs; and it is accordingly arranged that at daylight to-morrow we drop down abreast of the batteries, and hammer them into ruins and their garrisons into submission.

CHAPTER XV.

RENEWAL OF THE ACTION—A SHARP BOMBARDMENT—THE BATTERIES SILENCED—AN ACTION BETWEEN REBELS AND IMPERIALISTS—PROGRESS UP STREAM—THE REBELS RECEIVE A LESSON—WE LAND FOR INFORMATION—DESTITUTE PEASANTRY—REQUEST TO AID THE REBELS—NOTIFICATION IN REPLY—ENTER THE PROVINCE NGAN-HWUI—A MILITARY PROCESSION—THE EASTERN AND WESTERN PILLAR GATES—ARRIVAL AT WOOHOO—A LETTER FROM THE REBEL CHIEF—WE PAY HIM A VISIT—A DISORDERLY MOB—VARIEGATED COSTUMES—AN IMPERIALIST SPY—FORMER CONDITION OF WOOHOO—ITS PRESENT STATE—A TAI-PING MANIFESTO.

October 21*st.*—Day had not yet dawned when we were all awake and bustling on board the Furious. The vigorous fire kept up last evening, and the readiness evinced by the rebels to commence an engagement, led us to anticipate a sharp action to-day, and we made our preparations accordingly. The morning was chill and biting, but the blood was circulating pretty rapidly in the veins of most of us nevertheless, and we were warmed with the healthy glow arising from the excitement of anticipation. Gradually the two hills, upon the sides and round the base of which Nankin is situated, loomed through the early haze, and then the long line of batteries on the right bank became indistinctly visible.

Opposite, the solitary fort of Poo-kow was appropriated exclusively to the Cruizer; and as we scanned the fair proportions of that handsome craft, we doubted not that her eighteen guns would render a very good account of its batteries. Gradually the details of the scene became wonderfully distinct; the batteries seemed getting suddenly larger; and I for the first time discovered that we were no longer at anchor, but floating silently with the tide into the respective positions allotted to the different ships.

As the Poo-kow battery was the nearest, the Cruizer got first into action, and her gallant commander, Bythesea, seemed determined not to give the garrison any excuse for missing him. He ranged his ship steadily up to within fifty yards of the guns, as though taunting the enemy to begin, and then opened his broadside with telling effect. A few feeble shot were returned in reply; but so rapid and destructive was the Cruizer's fire, that it was evident the fort of Poo-kow was not long destined to be the abiding-place of its brave garrison.

The discharge of our own pivot-gun roused us from the contemplation of the Cruizer's achievements, and the remaining three ships now began, in concert with ourselves, to pour such a storm of shot, shell, grape, and rockets, into the batteries, that our fire of the previous evening seemed mere child's play to the bombardment we were now keeping up. It evidently produced its effect in the rebel batteries, for they replied but feebly, and at intervals. From the main-

topgallant crosstrees I could look down into the forts, and see the men in bright dresses clustering round the guns, or grouped in sheltered corners, or bolting like rabbits from some spot where a Moorsom shell had just burst, scattering fragments and spreading dismay far and wide.

The one-sided nature of the action may be gathered from the fact that, during the hour and a half that it lasted, we were only hulled once, while no casualties occurred on board any of the ships. It was evident that either our bombardment of the previous evening, or the suddenness with which we opened fire this morning, had thoroughly cowed our opponents. Their fire gradually ceased entirely, and, as an ardent young midshipman lugubriously remarked, "they seemed determined not to show us any sport." So the original intention of landing and spiking the guns was given up, and we withdrew, the less reluctantly as we observed the Imperialist fleet through which we had passed the evening before, plucking up heart, and, led by a steamer in the service of the Chinese Government, commence a fierce action at a three-mile range.

When the rebels saw that we were in no way connected or co-operating with this valiant squadron, they opened fire upon it manfully from some of the batteries which had suffered least from our bombardment; and as we steamed away up the river, we could hear the action still raging furiously, in all

probability with very slight consequences to either side.

The Chinese Commissioners at Shanghai had appointed a petty mandarin to accompany us, whose presence was intended as a guarantee, to the authorities with whom we might come in contact, of our recognised right to navigate the waters of the Takiang, and who was also expected to assist us in commissariat and other arrangements. This gentleman lived in a boat which we towed astern, and which upon the morning of the action was left at anchor in the stream, while its occupants were taken on board the Cruizer for safety, where they remained in a considerable state of alarm until it was over.

We observed the heights in rear of Nankin crowned with the tents and banners of the Imperialist forces investing the city, their encampment extending apparently for many miles.

Shortly after, we observed a fleet of junks ahead which we presumed to be rebel, more especially as we saw them firing, apparently at the Dove, then our leading gunboat. Mr Wade was accordingly sent on in the Lee to investigate, and discovered them to be an Imperialist squadron engaging the advanced rebel batteries in this direction.

The action was so feebly maintained that we passed through the midst of it, without condescending to notice the fire of either side.

An island, about eight miles long, extends from

Nankin to this point, where the rebel batteries are separated from the Imperial position of Hea-san-shan by a narrow creek. This is the only point held by the Imperialists on the south bank between Nankin and a post a few miles above Woohoo, or about sixty miles higher up the river.

We now observed ranges of hills, apparently varying between one and two thousand feet in height, on both sides of the river. Those to the north were at a great distance, and only occasionally visible. The southern ranges, however, in some places approach the river, decreasing in elevation, and forming a line of bluffs overhanging the water. The plain which intervened between us and the northern ranges was apparently thinly populated, and, as far as we could discern, an expanse of rushes and moorland. We passed only one insurgent position on the northern bank, that of Too-tse-ke ; and in the distance we could distinguish the pagoda of Ho-chow, the chief city of a department of the same name, and now in the hands of the rebels. It is mentioned by Sir John Davis as having been visited by some of Lord Amherst's party on the occasion of their ascent of the river in 1816. When we refer to their account of the traffic upon its waters in those days, it is melancholy to think of the change which the last few years have wrought upon the internal trade of central China. During the whole of this day's steaming, we did not observe a single junk upon this magnificent highway of commerce.

We were destined not to close the day, which had commenced so noisily, without a little more excitement. Upon rounding a bold bluff which projected into the river, we came suddenly upon a small town, built in a recess of the hills, and protected by two or three circular stone redoubts, mounting three or four guns each. These we were inspecting through our telescopes, very much in the spirit in which a Newfoundland would investigate a lap-dog, when, to our amazement, a posse of swaggering rebels came trooping down to the water's edge, dressed, as is usual with them, in many-coloured garments, flourishing yellow and crimson flags, and led by a horseman in a crimson coat and loose white trousers, who looked extremely picturesque, caracolling and vapouring in front of his variegated men. He brandished a matchlock in his hand, which he fired defiantly at us, we being about five hundred yards distant at the time; thereupon his followers exploded, in a futile and absurd manner, all their gingalls at us. This they did two or three times, and we slackened speed to watch their humours; but when they all repaired into one of the circular redoubts, and popped off one of their brass guns at us, we considered the joke had gone far enough, and sent a round-shot whistling over their heads. But the flags waved more defiantly than ever; so the Retribution, making splendid practice, dropped a Moorsôm right into the centre of the fort, sending the entire construction into the air, and those of its occupants who were still alive, skim-

ming along the bare hill-side,—their panic-stricken leader, now on foot, rolling repeatedly over and over in his headlong flight, and the bright garments of his soldiers streaming in the wind as they ran after him. The sight tickled Jack's fancy so much that he could scarcely stand by his gun for laughing.

The town itself was surrounded by a wall, and perched upon a low hill about fifteen hundred yards distant. A large crowd had collected outside the gate, chiefly composed of rebel soldiers, watching the proceedings. We sent them a ten-inch shell, just to give them some idea of our armament. The impression which this little episode produced was most salutary, as we found the same evening, when we anchored a few miles higher up, close to the prefectural city of Tai-ping. The place at which it occurred was called Tsae-shih-ke.

A division of the river into three channels just below Tai-ping baffled us a little before sunset; so we remained there for the night, and I went on shore, with Mr Wade, for the purpose of collecting information from some stray peasant near the river-bank with reference to the relative merits of the channels ahead. After the little experience we had just had of their feelings towards us, we were compelled to proceed with caution. As it was not deemed advisable to go out of sight or range of the ships, we landed near a hut a few yards from the river-bank, and walked up alone to reconnoitre it. Not a soul was visible: a harsh-voiced cur, which bayed incessantly at us,

was the only sign of life, until at last we dug out a very decrepit old woman, who refused to comprehend Wade's excellent Chinese, till an old man, overhearing his repeated assurances that we should do them no harm, emerged from a place of concealment, but proved very little more intelligent than his better half. His long matted hair only partially concealed the tail that was coiled up beneath it, while his cadaverous countenance and ragged attire proved that he at all events had not thriven on rebellion. When we asked him whether he was a rebel, he answered with a shrug, "how could he be otherwise." He told us that he was wretchedly poor, and gave us to understand that he and all his neighbours had been utterly ruined by the "troublesome pests," as they are commonly called by the loyalists. The aspect of the surrounding country fully confirmed our informant's account of the destitution of its inhabitants; for, in addition to the rural population which properly belonged to it, the fields were dotted with wretched straw huts, the temporary abodes of the town's-people, who had been ejected from their urban domiciles by the rebels, it being the practice of these vagabonds to appropriate to themselves the houses of the unfortunate citizens.

The entire population in districts occupied by rebels allow their hair to grow, long hair being the distinguishing characteristic of the Tai-ping faction. Hence they are commonly called "the long-haired men." Generally, however, from prudential motives,

they preserve their tails concealed beneath their flowing locks, so that in the event of their falling into the clutches of the Imperialists, they may by a rapid tonsure be enabled to assume the aspect of a long-tailed adherent of the Imperial cause.

Shortly after our return to the ship, a communication arrived from a rebel chief at Tai-ping, enclosed in a yellow envelope, on one side of which was written: "Your younger brother, junior tsien-tien of the navy, Hiung Kwang Ming, respectfully greets your Excellencies the Foreigners." On the other, the date, "13th day of the 10th Moon of the 8th year—viz. the Wu-Wu of the Heavenly Kingdom of Tai-ping," was covered by the official seal of the same Hiung, setting forth his titles as above.

Within he writes, after repeating the greeting written on the cover: "Whereas your younger brother is in chief command of the armed (*lit.* gun) vessels of the Heavenly Kingdom, and has been several years engaged with the boats of the demons, without being able to exterminate them, he earnestly prays your foreign Excellencies, with all your heart and might, to assist him in annihilating the rebel vessels; and your younger brother will present a memorial to the Heavenly King, moving him to confer titles and rewards on your foreign Excellencies."

The inducements here held out were, unfortunately for the rebels, not sufficiently attractive to tempt Lord Elgin to assist them in the laudable under-

taking of exterminating the "Demons," or "Imps," as the Imperialists are usually styled by the rebels.

The following notification was returned in reply to the above:—

"The Earl of Elgin, Ambassador of her Majesty the Queen of England, issues a notification,—Whereas a number of her Majesty's ships were on their way to Hankow, it was the particular desire of the Ambassador that the party in possession of Nankin should understand that these ships were proceeding with no hostile intentions to them. For this purpose, a small vessel was specially detached in advance. A gun was fired on her, to which, in obedience to her instructions, she made no return, but hoisted a flag of truce. The garrison of Nankin, notwithstanding, continued to fire at her. The forts commanding the passage have been, in consequence, taken and demolished, as a warning to all who may be hereafter minded to interfere with the ships of her Majesty."

We subsequently learnt, that news of the punishment which we had inflicted on Nankin this morning had reached Tai-ping by land as quickly as we had by water, and produced exactly the impression which Lord Elgin desired upon the rebel leaders at the forts further up the river. The importance of securing ourselves from further molestation, by a vigorous display of force at the outset, seemed to him to justify the somewhat rough treatment which the Nankin insurgents had experienced at our hands.

A further evidence of their desire to conciliate was

obtained at a late hour of the night. After we had "turned in," some of our party were knocked up to receive a present for Lord Elgin of a number of fowls and two pieces of red cloth.

22*d.*—The gunboats were under weigh early this morning, investigating the respective merits of the channels ahead. At last we hit upon the right one, and as we passed along it, obtained a good view of Tai-ping-foo. This is a prefectural city of the province of Ngan-hwui, and has been for many years a stronghold of the insurgents. It was first taken by them on the 7th March 1853. They speak of seven or eight thousand troops being quartered there.

We are now in the province of Ngan-hwui, having entered it yesterday, a few miles before arriving at Tai-ping. Ngan-hwui means "Peace and Excellence;' that is, the peaceful and excellent province. It was formerly joined to Kiang-su as one province, under the name of Kiang-nan. Its area is greater than that of Kiang-su, and is computed at from forty to forty-five thousand square miles. The area of these two provinces is about the same as that of the two states of New York and Pennsylvania, and the population of Ngan-hwui was computed, according to the last census, at about thirty-four millions.

We had scarcely cleared the intricate channels leading past Tai-ping, when the Retribution took the ground, still within sight of the three pagodas of the city. The whole day was employed in getting her off. Meanwhile the time was not lost to our surveyors, who

were actively occupied taking observations and mapping out the river. A party of rebels communicated with Commander Ward while thus engaged; they assured him that the firing upon us at Nankin was quite a mistake; that orders had been given that we should not be fired upon again; and that any description of arms and ammunition, but especially percussion-caps, would be thankfully received. While at anchor at this point, we observed a force, which we estimated at about five thousand men, march out of Tai-ping, apparently in the direction of Woohoo. The stream of soldiers lasted for about three-quarters of an hour; they presented a gay and picturesque appearance: officers on horseback, in red, blue, or yellow, and men in many-coloured uniforms, while hundreds of gaudy umbrellas and waving flags added to the brilliancy of the procession. Just before sundown, to our infinite joy, the Retribution was hauled off her bank into deep water; it was too late, however, to shift our position to-night, and sundry anchors have yet to be picked up, involving a little further delay.

23*d*.—Under weigh about eleven. Fourteen miles from Tai-ping, we reach the finest piece of scenery we have yet seen. The river here forces itself through a mighty barrier of rock, the precipitous walls of which rise from its waters; their rugged flanks are scored with zigzag paths and steps hewn out of the living stone, and their projecting ledges are scarped into batteries.

These fine masses of rock are called the Se-leang-shan and Tung-leang-shan, or Eastern and Western Pillar Hills, or more poetically, the Teen-mun, or Celestial Gate. The Se-leang-shan resembled in shape the rock of Gibraltar on a small scale. Davis calls it five hundred feet in height; I should not have estimated it at more than three hundred. Half-way up he visited a temple in the rock, which is now in all probability converted into a guard-house. Crowds of gay soldiers thronged the batteries, their flags flaunting from dizzy pinnacles, and their guns perched on crags where it looked a service of danger to work them. We congratulated ourselves, as we passed through this narrow gorge—for the river was not more than half a mile in width—that the garrison had received orders to confine themselves to staring at us, which they did most eagerly.

This Pass is the key to the upper part of the river, and would be impregnable in the hands of a civilised force. As it is, not an Imperialist junk can show itself between Woohoo and Nankin; and as all the rebel junks have been destroyed, the river is entirely deserted. At the foot of the Se-leang-shan is a small town, guarded by a battery, and a slip of sand runs out from it into the river, upon which some raking guns might be placed. Immediately on emerging from this defile we reach a bifurcation of the river. We follow the southern branch, which is deep and comparatively narrow, winding under bluffs which form its southern bank; while on the flat island opposite are constructed

a series of five forts, admirably neat, and substantially built. The walls were apparently of solid mud. They were loopholed for muskets, and cut into little embrasures for gingalls. Cannon seemed scarce, and were confined to the angles, which were constructed of stone.

These batteries were placed within half a mile of each other, close to the river margin, and were well garrisoned. Altogether, had our observation of the rebels been limited to the appearance presented by their fortifications and garrisons at this section of the river, we should have been led to form a much more favourable estimate of their power and resources than our subsequent investigations into them justified. The Celestial Gate was undoubtedly the point at which they seemed most formidable, and it will probably be the last stronghold which will remain in their hands. Report says that a good deal of their treasure is kept there.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we sighted the two pagodas which mark the district city of Woohoo, and soon after came to an anchor before its long white walls. Woohoo is the highest point ever previously reached by a foreign ship, the American steam-frigate Susquehanna having visited it some years ago. Lord Amherst's mission, which ascended the river as far as the Poyang lake, were conveyed up it in native boats. A large and motley crowd collected on the water's edge as we deliberately dropped our anchors just abreast of the principal gateway, and

Mr Wade was immediately sent on shore, to open communication with them, the chief object of his mission being to obtain supplies. Our Chinese official was, of course, invisible on these occasions, as an Imperialist in the heart of the rebel country. The bare notion that his presence should be suspected, overwhelmed him with dismay.

Mr Wade, who did not land, returned speedily with the information which he had obtained from a Hoo-peh man, who described himself as an officer of the garrison, that the authorities were anxious to do all in their power to show us civility. A packet for Lord Elgin from How, the Commandant at Woohoo, was also handed to him. It contained the original manifesto of Tai-ping-wang, brought down from Nankin in 1853, and the following letter:—"How, a Tsiang-tien-yen, the truly loyal and patriotic, by the heavenly command of the heavenly kingdom of Tai-ping, to the younger brethren of Jesus. Whereas, owing to the heavenly bounty of the Heavenly Father, and the heavenly elder brother Jesus, the heavenly dynasty has been recently founded, and our truly Holy Master, the Heavenly King, has been desired to descend on earth, and govern the empire (or the world), he has established his throne in the heavenly capital, and for several years (the people of) the four seas have turned their hearts to him, and the myriad places have felt his civilising influence. Five foreign ships belonging to you, the brethren of Jesus, have now come to the central kingdom of the heavenly

dynasty, and have arrived in the department of Ning (Kiang-ning, or Nankin). Being in ignorance what propositions you have to make, I have sent a special messenger, Yu-hing-lung, to visit your ships and inquire. If you have anything to settle, please inform me by letter. The 15th of the 10th Moon of the Wu-Wu, or 8th year of the heavenly kingdom of Tai-ping."

As the matter we had to settle merely related to beef and vegetables, Fitzroy and I returned to the shore with Wade, accompanied by Mr Mainprize, the paymaster of the Furious. Meanwhile Mr Lay was sent in a gunboat to communicate with some Imperial junks, the streamers of which were visible about three miles higher up the river.

A noisy particoloured crowd, jostling each other into the water in their anxiety to inspect us, received us as we stepped on shore. We were surrounded by a mob of these long-haired, long-robed ragamuffins, as we walked into the fort through the wretched gateway which served as its principal entrance, and, passing along a narrow half-ruined street, were ushered into a dilapidated yamun in a state of repair. Strains of discordant music announced our approach to the high dignitary within, whom we found seated in solemn state behind a high table or altar, upon which stood two open carved jars like wine-coolers, of silver, or imitation silver, which contained long thin slips of wood, covered with Chinese characters. The chamber was a small square apartment, hung with scrolls

of yellow silk, covered with texts and mottoes in Chinese, belonging, apparently, as much to Confucianism as to Christianity; and the presiding genius himself was a stout sensual-looking man, with a keen eye, and an intelligent but bad cast of countenance. He was dressed in a robe of yellow, which fell from his neck to his heels, and was devoid of ornament; round his head was wrapped an orange-coloured handkerchief, in the centre of which, above the forehead, was fastened a single piece of jade, mounted in a gold setting. His long hair was collected in a bag, and hung in the nape of his neck, as though in imitation of the fashion prevalent among English young ladies of the present day.

Bowing to us slightly as we entered, How—for so was this great man called—beckoned us to chairs; the mob by which we had been followed crowding unceremoniously into the small apartment. Not the smallest respect was shown by the insubordinate rabble to their leader, who strove in vain to keep them from pressing round, much to the disparagement of the dignified manner which he evidently desired to maintain in our presence, and by which he hoped to impress us with a due sense of his rank and importance. The odour of garlic which pervaded his undisciplined retainers, their boisterous and noisy manner and filthy aspect, rendered our audience by no means so agreeable as it might otherwise have been. A perfect equality seemed to reign, or rather an absolute confusion of ranks and persons,—

well dressed and ragged, old and young, thronged impetuously into the little room. It struck me, however, that the young predominated: many of these had been rebels all their lives, and had no tails, but generally the tail was wrapped round the long tangled hair.

How told us that, to his functions of commandant and judge, he united those of high priest. The thin slips of wood in the silver vases were inscribed with various punishments, and the form of sentencing consisted in his selecting and throwing to the criminal the punishment to which he was condemned. The building itself was, like its occupant, partly ecclesiastical and partly secular. But we could not obtain from How any very precise description of the form of worship at which he presided. Indeed, we were not tempted to prolong our visit beyond what was necessary, and we gave him a list of our wants, which was rapidly transcribed by his secretary, who stood near him, and concealed the eyes of a countenance which bore a villanous expression with a pair of huge green goggles. His dress consisted of a flowered crimson silk robe, and reached to his heels. Near him stood another scribe, in a bright pea-green tunic and loose red trousers. Presently appeared another high official, apparently of equal rank with How, for he took a seat next to him, and commenced a deliberate and somewhat insolent survey of our persons. His head was wrapped in an orange handkerchief, like his colleague's, but his robe

was of purple, above which he wore a flowered lilac silk tunic. These gay colours looked bright enough when they happened to be new, but those of the crowd were for the most part faded: the material of which their garments were composed was shabby and torn, giving them a tawdry, disreputable appearance, which was not belied by the dissipated haggard expression of their countenances.

The leaders were Canton men of the worst description. Drunkenness and opium-smoking were prevalent vices, as one of their number, who spoke Canton English, and was evidently a blackguard of the first water, unhesitatingly admitted. In the original code promulgated by Tai-ping, opium-smoking was punishable with death. One of the first questions we were asked by How was, "What have you got to sell?" They were evidently sceptical when we denied that we were traders, and How recurred to the subject before we left him. He had been a merchant in a small way at Canton.

We now proceeded to the exploration of the surrounding streets, and found that we were not in the town, but in a military post, consisting of three separate forts on eminences, with a collection of mean houses round them, and a wall, enclosing the whole within its circumference, extending for some distance along the river margin.

The town of Woohoo we could see about a mile and a half inland. The pagoda was outside the wall, and in order to visit it we passed under a gateway,

at which we saw a man chained to the wall by his neck. He was said to be under suspicion of being an Imperialist spy. The pagoda consisted of five stories, and was very dilapidated, and the guns on the walls of the forts were very inferior and of small calibre.

We were accompanied on our rambles by a crowd, with the more intelligent of whom Wade got into conversation upon religious subjects; but their theology was of the vaguest description, and did not prevent them from using the foulest language to each other.

We saw very few women, and they were evidently all from the north, probably captured on some of their raids in that direction. It was said that an order had been issued at the commencement of the movement prohibiting wives, and that these had in consequence all been taken from their husbands, but subsequently redistributed differently.

We had not time to visit the town of Woohoo, which Davis describes as the largest of its class in China. "The streets," he remarks, "proved on inspection to be superior to those of many of the first-class cities, and some were as large and well furnished with handsome shops as at Canton. It is to the great inland commerce carried on by this line that such unusual wealth and prosperity is to be referred." It is interesting to compare the above notice of Woohoo with that of Mr Wylie, who remained behind with the Retribution, while we were up the

river, and visited Woohoo, of which he gives the following account :—

"The district city of Woohoo, on the south bank, belongs to Tai-ping-foo, from which city it is distant fifty miles by land, with free communication for the insurgents, who have held it since the 4th March 1853. The city stands inland from the river about a mile and a half, on the border of a canal, but little is now left standing of it except the wall, and a part of the two principal streets, extending about half a mile each inside to north and east gates, and nearly as far outside. These contain the stores of the few remaining shopkeepers, who appear to be ill at ease in the pursuit of their avocations.

"The houses are divided among the various companies of fighting men quartered there, most of them having up a placard indicating the officer to whom they belong. Many of the houses have very extensive premises in rear of the shops, where the men and horses find shelter, with the utmost disregard to everything like order or cleanliness.

"There are two or three official residences in the city, one being that of the medical officer to the army, appointed by Imperial Commission. Outside the west gate, nearly up to the river, is one vast field of broken bricks and tiles, with nothing but foundations remaining to show what must once have been a very extensive suburb. A walled camp has been built along the river front by the Tai-pings,

with a succession of six forts on natural mounds, the approaches to which are defended by stockades, and the rising ground thickly studded with pit-falls. Apart from the Commandant, How, the chief officer, who has his yamun in the camp, is Hwang Yuh Ching, 23d, (left hand or) Chief Minister of State.

"Every fort has its general, with his number attached. They have changed the name of the country about there to Ning-Keang. About eight or ten miles to the south they have a camp, at Hwang-che, where several severe skirmishes have taken place lately. On the opposite side of the river, at Urh-pa, are also several forts which have been taken from the Imperialists."

On our return voyage down the river we received, at Woohoo, a communication purporting to emanate from the rebel Celestial Emperor himself, written on a long roll of yellow silk, in red characters, being, in fact, a manifesto addressed to foreigners generally, but endorsed in this instance, "For the jewel glance of his Excellency the Earl Lai, Imperial Commissioner of Great Britain." I annex a copy of this very singular production, which will convey a better idea than any I could obtain from conversation with the rebels, of the nature of their theology, and the amount of their acquaintance with Holy Writ. Of the extent to which they practised its tenets it was not so difficult to form an opinion:—

Translation of a Manifesto or Decree addressed by the Head of the Tai-ping Insurgents to Foreigners.

The following composition was left at Wu-hu, by Lin, a rebel chief of high degree, who it appears had been sent thither with it from Nankin, and was found at the former place when the Retribution moved down thither from Kiu-hien. It is written on yellow silk, in red characters—*i. e.* with the vermilion pencil of majesty, and was enclosed in a yellow paper envelope, on the side of which was written:—

"Within [the cover] is presented one document,"—the word presented being that which indicates the submission of papers or information to a superior; then the date—viz. the — day of the 11th Moon of the *Wu-Wu*, the 8th year of the Celestial Kingdom of Tai-ping (Universal Peace).

Over the date are two impressions of seals; above, a circular one with some mystic engraving not very clearly defined, with the character *pu*, universal, in the margin, and below, an oblong one, like a Chinese title-page, reading as follows:—"Chu Hiung-pang, the loyal and patriotic Pu-T'ien Yen of the Celestial Kingdom of the Tai-ping, appointed to the Board of Works, the officer of the Winter."

It is no doubt this person (who by his surname Chu is probably one of those that trace descent from the stock of the Ming Emperors), who employs the character *pin* on the cover, as the letter, or manifesto, itself is as from superiors to inferiors.

On the other side of the cover is the address, which, it is understood was written at Wu-hu, "For the jewel glance of His Excellency the Earl Lai, Imperial Commissioner of Great Britain."

The writing within is mostly in seven-foot verse, of very small literary pretension, and in indifferent handwriting; singularly indifferent when it is borne in mind how generally the educated Chinese are found to write decently, if not well. Many of the expressions establish it, in the opinion of a well-informed Cantonese, to be the production of one of his fellow-provincials.

The writer uses throughout the imperial pronoun *chên* or *shên*, which we ordinarily translate *We*.

The column is broken, according to Chinese custom, before names of honour: those that refer, apparently, to the first Person of the Trinity rising two places; those indicating the second Person, one place. A character coined to represent the Holy Spirit is also allowed two places. It occurs but once. *T'ien*, heaven, is raised in some lines two places, and is in such case spelt with a capital letter in the translation.

1. We proclaim for the information of our foreign younger brethren of the western ocean,

2. The things of heaven differ extremely from the things of the world.
3. The Heavenly Father Shang Ti, the Imperial Shang Ti,
4. Is the Sacred (or Sainted) Father of one and all that heaven overspreads.
5. Our uterine elder brother is Jesus.
6. Our uterine younger brother is Siu-tsing.
7. In the third moon of the year *mo-shin* (1848) Shang Ti descended,
8. And commissioned the king of the east to become a mortal (*lit.* a world man).
9. In the 9th moon of this year the Redeemer descended,
10. And commissioned the king of the west to manifest divine powers.
11. The Father and the Elder Brother led us to sit on [the throne of] the heavenly kingdom;
12. With great display of authority and might to sit in the hall of heaven;
13. To make the heavenly city our capital, to found the heavenly kingdom;
14. [That] the ministers and people of all (*lit.* the myriad) nations might do homage to their Father-Emperor.
15. The chapel (or temple) of the True Spirit is within the heavenly court.
16. The chapel of Ki-tu (Christ) is alike glorious for ever.
17. In the year *ting yu* (1837), we ascended to heaven.
18. The Father, with words of truth, bestowed on us a volume of verse,
19. Enjoining us to read it well and to regard it as a proof;
20. By the verses to know (or acknowledge) the Father, and to keep steady.
21. The Father moreover commanded the Elder Brother to instruct us how to read it.
22. The Father and the Elder Brother did personally instruct us, and laid their injunctions upon us again and again.—
23. The Heavenly Father Shang Ti is in the measure of his capacity as the depth of the sea.
24. Up to the thirty-third heaven the demons burst their way.
25. The Father and Elder Brother, taking us with them, drove them away time after time.
26. Supported by the officers and soldiers of heaven on either side of them,
27. They smote on this occasion two-thirds of them;
28. From one gate of heaven after another were the demons and goblins repulsed,
29. Until they were all driven down below (or to earth, or under the earth),
30. And but a remnant of them were left. [Thus] was the August Father (or the Father's Majesty) made manifest.
31. The Father subsequently (or, then) desired us to return to the world, [promising]
32. In all things to be our support.

33. He enjoined us to set our heart at rest and not to be alarmed;
34. He, the Father, would come forward. His injunctions were repeated twice and again.
35. In the year *wu-shin* (1848) when the king of the south was besieged in Kwei-ping,
36. We besought the Father to come down and manifest his terrors.
37. We had returned from Kwang Si to Kwang Tung;
38. The Heavenly Father did come down to the world, and rescued [the king] of the south.
39. The king of the east redeems from sickness; he is a holy spirit.
40. The Father sent him down with a commission to exterminate the demons.
41. He destroyed goblin-devils without number.
42. And so was enabled to arrive without delay at the capital (Nankin).
43. When the Father descended to the world he made known his holy will.
44. All this we read, and committing it well to memory,
45. We knew the Father's infallibility (or that his power could not fail),
46. And were brought by the Father, and the Elder Brother to found the [dynasty of] T'ai P'ing.
47. The Father having deputed the king of the east to redeem from sickness,
48. [On behalf of] the blind, the deaf, and the dumb,
49. He suffered infinite misery.
50. When fighting the demons he was wounded in the neck and fell headlong.
51. The Father had declared by his holy decree,
52. That when our warriors went forth they would have inexpressible affliction;
53. That when they come to the court (Nankin?) they would suffer severely.
54. [The words of] the Father's holy decree were all accomplished.
55. The Elder Brother to ransom sinners gave his life;
56. He became a substitute for myriad myriad thousands of the people of the world.
57. The king of the east in ransoming the sick suffered equally with the Elder Brother.
58. And when he fell with the pestilence he returned to [the place of] spirits, to thank the Father for his goodness.
59. Which is the right among the writings of the Father and the Elder Brother it is impossible to know;
60. He who would choose the true must ascend to high heaven.
61. The holy decrees of the Father are numberless.
62. We declare the general purport of one or two.
63. It is some years since the Heavenly Father descended into the world.
64. He was accompanied by the Heavenly Brother, whose distress was as great as formerly.

65. Jesus is your Redeeming Lord,
66. And continues with all his mind to instruct and admonish.
67. The Heavenly Father produced T'siuen to be your ruler.
68. Why are you not loyal to the utmost? why do you wilfully (or wrongly) pursue your former course?
69. You have often [been guilty of] serious disobedience of commands.
70. Were we not to issue our decree your boldness would be great as heaven.
71. For whom was it that the Heavenly Father descended?
72. For whom did Jesus throw away his life?
73. Heaven has sent you down a king to be your true lord.
74. Why are you so troubled, your hearts so unsettled?
75. Let your sons in all parts quit their houses,
76. Leave their homes, resolved to be loyal ministers;
77. Come forward to aid their king, fierce as tigers and leopards;
78. Knowing that now they have a ruler they can be men.
79. If you believe not that the best in the world has appeared in us,
80. Yet bethink you that the Spirit Father errs not in the ruler he establishes; (*lit.* sets up a ruler true).
81. Accept as proof of the independent authority of heaven,
82. That though a thousand surround [us] with valour and daring, they are broken as the dust.
83. The myriad countries, the myriad nations, throng in myriads to [our] court.
84. [Ours are?] the myriad hills, the myriad waters, at infinite distance.
85. For a myriad *li* myriad eyes throng their way up.
86. All (*lit*, myriad) knowledge, all happiness, all merit [is ours? or, heaven's?]
87. Would [a man] conceal anything from Heaven, let him not say that Heaven is ignorant of it.
88. Heaven measures as far as the sea in deep; yea and farther.
89. See now yourselves without courage or resolution.
90. How long will you not be faithful servants?
91. Remember that if in the third watch [of the night] you escape along the dark road,
92. The vengeful demon will blind (or bewilder) you before daylight.
93. Walk, each of you, in the true path for our king;
94. Believe the Heavenly Father, and doubt not.
95. Heaven produced the rightful ruler to govern the empire, (*lit.* the hills and streams).

The verses end here for the present; the writer proceeds in prose thus:—

When Shang Ti sent down this holy decree (*lit.* this single sentence of a holy decree), he commanded us to add three sentences. We added [these]:

96. The Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother have great distress of mind (have too much to think of);
97. All authority and power reverts to the Supreme Ruler (*Shang Chu*).

98. How is happiness to be given to the whole empire of Tai-ping?

Shang Ti sent down another holy decree, saying:—

99. In the nine-fold heaven let there be one king of the east,

100. To aid the empire as a counsellor long to endure.

When Shang Ti declared his holy pleasure in these two lines, he desired us to add two more. In accordance with the holy pleasure of the Father, we added these two:—

101. Ho-nai the teacher, who is at the same time the lord redeemer from disease,

102. Is the great support of all the people in the world.

At a later period Shang Ti made a change, saying—

103. Let there be appointed a pair of phœnixes one to the east and the other to the west.

104. Let the east, west, north, and south do homage to them (turn to them as the sun).

Shang Ti made another change, saying—

105. Let there be appointed a pair of phœnixes, one to the east and the other to the west,

106. And let them, in gratitude for the bounty of Heaven that has descended on them, do homage together.

107. This purport of the Father's holy pleasure, in general terms,

108. Do we truthfully declare for the information of you, our foreign younger brethren.

109. That the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother really descended on earth,

110. Is proved to be true by the verses of the Father.

111. Their (or His) divine intelligence and authority words cannot tell.

112. Come soon to the heavenly temple and you will be sensible of it.

113. The Chief Elder Brother Jesus is the same (or of the same fashion) with the Father.

114. Not a half sentence of [their] holy decrees shall be changed.

115. Shang Ti, the Heavenly Father, is the true Shang Ti (or is Shang Ti, the Supreme Ruler, indeed).

116. Jesus, the Heavenly Elder Brother, is Heavenly Elder Brother indeed.

117. The Father and the Elder Brother set us to rule the Heavenly Kingdom;

118. To sweep away and exterminate the devilish spirits; bestowing on us great honour.

119. Foreign younger brethren of the western ocean, listen to our words.

120. Join us in doing service to the Father and Elder Brother, and extinguish the stinking reptiles.

121. In all things the Father, the Elder Brother, and ourself, are master (or, act independently of any one else).

122. Come, brethren, enthusiastically, and merit all honour.

123. When we were travelling in Kwang-tung some time ago,

124. In the hall of worship (*li pai-t'ang*) we addressed Lo Hiau-tsiuen.

125. We then told him that we had been up to heaven,

126. And that the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother had committed to us great authority.

127. Is Lo Hiau-tsiuen now come hither or not?

128. If he be, let him come to court and speak with us.

129. We are the second son of Shang Ti.

130. The Elder Brother and the king of the east are our uterine brothers.

131. All as one family together adorning the Heavenly Father,

132. There shall be universal peace (*t'ai p'ing*) on earth. It was said long ago,

[*Or it may mean*]. We form one family [above] under the Heavenly Father; on earth we are [the dynasty] T'ai P'ing, as we said long ago (or, as was long ago foretold).

133. The kingdom of heaven is (or was) at hand; now that it is come,

134. Brethren of the western ocean, be of good cheer.

135. In former days when we ascended to heaven, we saw what was destined by the Father,

136. [To wit, that] the myriad nations should aid us to mount the heavenly tower.

137. What the Father destined has now come to pass.

138. Put forth your strength for Heaven; it is a duty, yes, it is a duty.

139. For the Father, and for the Elder Brother, slay the demon goblins,

140. Out of gratitude to the Father for your birth and growth; and when you have conquered in battle return: (or, and you will be victorious in fight).

141. We, the ruler, have given the young ruler, [our son,] to be adopted by Jesus;

142. As the adopted of the Elder Brother and ourself to sit in the heavenly capital.

143. The young ruler, as one half the son of Jesus,

144. And one half our son, is the object (or recipient) of the protection of Heaven.

145. [Thus] for generations the young ruler, as the son of Shang Ti,

146. Inherits from the Elder Brother and ourself the whole empire.

147. Brethren of the western ocean, adore (or, you adore) the Supreme (*Shang Chu*).

148. It is our wish that the Father and the Elder Brother should cause it so to be.

149. The Chief Elder Brother being in time past nailed on a gallows shaped like the character *shih*, ten, *sc.* the cross,

150. Left it as his sign. In this there is no mistake.

151. The *shih ts'iuen ta kih*, the tenfold [that is, all] perfect, and all fortunate is ourself.

152. In all ways [our course] is that destined by the Father.

153. That the Chief Elder Brother came to life again in three days,

154. And in three days built the temple, is not a vain boast.

155. We were produced by the Father in three days;

156. We built the temple of the Father and Elder Brother, and destroyed the devilish serpents.

157. In our third year *kwei-chau* (1853) we beheaded the devilish serpents.

158. In the year *yih yung* (1855) we exterminated the brutes, by the aid of the Father and the Elder Brother.

159. The serpents and brutes humbled and all exterminated for ever,

160. The whole world together sings the song of peace (or, the song of *t'aip'ing*).

161. Foreign brethren of the western ocean, you adore Shang Ti; [and it is]

162. The Father and the Elder Brother, that have brought us to sit on the throne of the empire (the hills and streams.)

163. We have now declared to you the truth.

164. Come rejoicing to court and give thanks to the Father and the Elder Brother.

165. By the memorials of our ministers

166. We have been informed of the coming of the brethren to the heavenly capital.

167. We have desired our ministers to treat you with courtesy.

168. As brethren in one harmonious community, be not doubtful or suspicious.

169. Apprehensive that the brethren might not be aware of [our sentiments,]

170. We have issued our manifesto to show our sympathy with you.

171. Foreign brethren of the western ocean, worship Shang Ti.

172. Man's blessings, *lit.* bounty and peace, are in this.

Respect this!

[*In referring to the following notes the reader will be guided by the number of the verse.*]

(1.) Proclaim; the word signifies to address authoritatively as a sovereign.

(3.) Shang Ti, the most honourable among Chinese Spirits; the title adopted by many Protestant missionaries to translate the name of God.

(6) Siu-tsing is Yang Siu-tsing, the Eastern King, who arrogated to himself amongst other titles that of the Holy Spirit.

(10.) Or, traces of divinity.

(11.) *Ye*, the Father, and *Ko*, the Elder Brother, as the characters are understood to mean by the native assistant consulted, as a missionary suggests, may be but the adoption in ignorance of the Chinese characters employed to spell Jehovah.

(12.) To be the high priest?

(13.) Nan-king, the southern capital, is now, to the insurgents, the *tien-king*, heavenly capital.

(15.) The hall of the True Spirit, *chin-shin-tang*, is the title formerly taken by a Protestant missionary chapel at Hong-Kong, but subsequently abandoned.

(16.) *Ki-tu* are the characters intended to represent the word Christ in the translation of the Testament.

(18.) Or, did indeed: the expression is Cantonese.

(20.) Keep steady, be saved from upsetting, not the dynasty, but the man in his conduct: also a Canton phrase.

(24.) The thirty-third heaven belongs to fairy tales, and the like.

(31.) Again to descend among the [mortal] community.

(35.) Kwei-ping is a district in Kwang Si.

(43.) Holy will, the words often rendered Decree of this Sacred Majesty, the Placet of the Holy One.

(58.) Pestilence: the word is often used of rebellion. It may have this figurative sense here, in which case Yang must be understood to have fallen in action. He is believed to have been beheaded by Tai-ping Wang's orders.

(58.) Or, returned to his spirit-nature.

(59.) The word rendered writings, is *ts'áu*, plants or grass. Draughts of documents are in the running land, *ts'áu tsz'*, the grass character. That the translation is correct here is uncertain, but no more likely meaning has been suggested.

(67.) Ts'iuhn is Hung Siu-ts'iuen, Tai-ping Wang, the leader of the present insurrection.

(68.) Wantonly, or extravagantly, renew, or repair, the past.

(78.) Men not devils.

(79.) *Lit.* the most precious [of the productions] of the hills and streams.

(80.) The Spirit is a newly-coined character not in the Lexicons.

(81.) The text is obscure, it may mean, Relying on the power of heaven to play the chief.

(83.) There is apparently here an allusion to omnipotence and infinity, but whether as the attribute of Tai-ping himself, or the Supreme Being, is not quite clear.

(92.) A proverb much to the same effect as our commonplace *Raro antecedentem scelestum*, &c.

(101.) The characters 禾 *ho* and 乃 *nai*, together make 秀 *siu*. Yang Siu-tsiuen is here referred to as the great physician.

(102.) The word : a character is used here also which is not authorised, for all together.

(103.) The *fung* is the fabulous bird of China.

(104.) The change, as will be seen, is of the greater part of the 104th verse, of which the 106th is a revision.

(113.) The title Elder Brother preceding his name Yesu is, nevertheless, made one degree less honourable by its place in the column.

(119.) As before, Our words as sovereign.

(122.) *Lit.* Establish myriad-fold merit.

(124.) Lo, supposed to be the Rev. Issachar Roberts, from whom Hung Siu-ts'iuen is believed to have obtained his first idea of Christianity.

(149.) Ten, *shih* 十, is also the number of completeness in China; ten parts is ten tenths, all.

(151.) There is a play here on *shih*, ten, the crucifix-shaped character meaning also complete, and *ts'iuen*, perfect, which also is part of Hung's name. The expression is common Cantonese; out-and-out good fortune.

(156.) Although the construction does not grammatically warrant it, the intention of the writer is plainly that his building the temple and routing the demons were also three-day operations.

(157.) The two last dates have retained one character of the old Chinese cyclic system, and have altered one.

CHAPTER XVI.

A BATTLE BETWEEN REBELS AND IMPERIALISTS—AN EXODUS OF THE POPULATION—ARRIVAL AT KEW-HSIEN—THE REBEL POSITION—REBEL TACTICS—DESERTED STATE OF THE COUNTRY—TEE-KIANG—FINE SCENERY—RECENT REBEL FORTIFICATIONS—A WILD-BOAR HUNT—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY—OUR PILOT—CULTIVATION—MANDARIN VISITORS—CHARACTER OF THE RIVER-BANKS—AN IMPERIALIST FLEET—A VISIT TO THE COMMODORE—THE LEGEND OF THE HEN BARRIER—APPROACH TO NGAN-KING—WE ENGAGE THE FORTS—ATTACK OF THE IMPERIALIST TROOPS—THE EIGHT-STORIED PAGODA—TACTICS OF THE IMPERIALISTS—THEIR TREATMENT OF THE PEASANTRY—TOONG-LEW.

October 24.—We weighed at daylight this morning, and about three miles above Woohoo passed a fleet of twenty Imperialist junks, at a village called Loo-kiang. They were under the command of a Canton man named Woo, with whom Mr Lay made acquaintance last evening, and who has politely furnished us with a pilot upon whom he declares we may rely. Eight or ten miles above this we passed a creek, at the mouth of which two Imperial junks were stationed. Three or four miles up this creek the insurgents have a camp at the town of Hwang-san-keaou, where they number upwards of a thousand fighting men. When we passed, the whole of this army, which had

evidently been strongly reinforced, was hotly engaged with the Imperial troops.

It is impossible to conceive anything more highly picturesque, or theatrical in its effect, than the scene which now lay spread before us. The hills were crowned with the gay flags of the rebels; the rich autumnal tints upon the trees were as bright in their colours as the dresses of the soldiers grouped beneath them; bodies of men were marching in gallant array down the park-like slopes, to meet the foe in the plain beneath. The Imperialist position was upon the flat ground upon the river margin. Here they had erected straw screens and temporary earthworks, behind which a few small guns were placed, which were keeping up an apparently harmless fire upon the enemy. Now and then groups of men carrying gingalls, would advance from the hostile ranks, and approach to within two or three hundred yards of each other, fire their gingalls, and retire amid a great waving of banners. We could not wait to watch the issue of the battle, which might last for ever, if they continued to fight on the same principle.

As we advanced, we became still more enchanted with the scenery. Confused masses of wooded hills rose to a height of about two thousand feet, from a plain charmingly diversified by clumps of timber and rich cultivation. It was lamentable to observe that this lovely landscape was being deserted by its inhabitants. It had not before been visited by the pestilent hordes who were now bearing down upon

it; and the peasantry, fearful lest they should prove successful in the contest which we had just seen them waging with the Imperialists, were now hurrying away, to escape those scenes of rapine and violence which have invariably marked their devastating track. Whole families might thus be seen trudging along the narrow pathways, the men staggering under heavy loads of all their goods and chattels, the women hobbling along on their small feet, their arms filled with babies. Cattle and poultry were being driven or carried by boys and girls. A great exodus was in progress. A few faint wreaths of blue smoke were still curling, probably for the last time, from the cottages and hamlets dotted over the smiling landscape, destined before long to share the fate which had already overtaken the surrounding country, where heaps of blackened cinders and mounds of brickbats alone remained to attest its once populous character.

> "Sunk are thy bowers, in shapeless ruin all,
> And the long grass o'ertops the mouldering wall,
> And, trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand,
> Far, far away thy children leave the land."

The principal base of rebel operations, and the headquarters of their army, was a town called Fan-chang, some twelve or fourteen miles in rear of the range of hills which skirted the south bank of the river. To these hills, which are a debatable ground, separating the insurgents from the Impe-

rialists, the latter probably owe their position, as, with the command of the river, they are always able to keep up their communication. Their principal post upon its banks is Kew-hsien, a town we reached at 11 A.M. It was picturesquely situated under the hills. The people crowded to the shore to inspect us. They consisted largely of refugee peasantry. As we were not likely to reach another Imperialist town for some time, and the great draught of water of the Retribution rendered her an inconvenient ship with which to pioneer unknown waters, it was decided that she should remain here until our return from Hankow.

This arrangement afforded the officers a good opportunity of exploring the surrounding country in search of game, while Mr Wylie was enabled to obtain some interesting information with reference to the state of the rebels. We found on our return that a red deer, and upwards of sixty pheasants, had fallen to the guns of the sportsmen; while the following account was furnished to Lord Elgin by Mr Wylie, as the result of his observation :—"Kew-heen" (or hsien, as I have spelt it, as a distinct sibilation was discernible in its pronunciation) "was formerly the site of the district city of Fan-chang, which now stands fourteen miles inland, in a plain surrounded by high hills. This city, which has been in the possession of the rebels for five years, belongs to the prefecture of Tai-ping. The present rebel governor is surnamed 'Wei.'

"Kew-lieen has some few vestiges of its former importance, but the place is now half in ruins, from previous visits of the insurgents. A little busy retail traffic is carried on, chiefly dependent on the Imperial troops stationed there. These amount to from two to three thousand, under the command of a general named Le. This man was the commander of the besieging force at Kiu-kiang, in May 1853, when three European ships, and twenty-five lorchas, were engaged in the service. He has now under him companies of Kwang-tung, Che-kiang, and Shan-tung braves. About a dozen junks ordinarily lie there, and some ten gunboats. This place forms a centre of concourse for the peasantry from the surrounding country, who are driven from their homes by the incursions of the rebels. Many families, with their whole households, are in a continual state of migration, carrying bedding and utensils about wherever they go. These are not beggars, but refugees, who are glad to purchase personal safety by the temporary abandonment of their patrimonial dwellings. A great extent of country adjoining the insurgent territory has thus become depopulated; and hostile encounters between the peasantry who remain, and the rebel invaders, are no uncommon occurrence. It is customary with the latter to make their advances by early dawn; and when they find the peasantry unwilling to enter their service, collisions sometimes ensue, which terminate in the death or disablement of the latter. In such cases the dwellings are reduced to a ruin, and

thus for many miles round scarcely anything is to be found but bare mud walls. The natives who thus involuntarily enter their service are not allowed the same freedom as the old adherents from the south; and on occasion of affrays with the Imperialists, it is said they are placed in the front ranks, and fastened together by the tails. The Imperialist communication landward between Kew-heen and Loo-keang is cut off by the rebels; but they have an open thoroughfare for their vessels on the river. The channel of the Yang-tse is here divided by three large islands in the centre, two or three miles wide.

"The north bank is all held by the Insurgents, who have also the departmental city of Woo-wei, the Imperialist magistrate of which, Yeh, now has a temporary office in Kew-heen. There is also a Rebel encampment on the north bank, opposite Hih-cha-chow, the island facing Kew-heen."

Mr Wylie informed me that he had walked to Fan-chang through a hilly wooded country, but did not enter the town. All the hamlets and houses for the last six miles before reaching it were in ruins. From the accounts he gave of their proceedings, we cannot wonder at the absence of all sympathy with the rebels on the part of the peasantry. Not only do they harry and *squeeze* these unfortunate people, but press the men by violence into their service, retaining for themselves all the best-looking of their women.

Kew-hsien, as its name implies, was formerly the district city; and its decaying pagoda and ruined

temple do indeed impart to it an air of venerable, if not respectable, antiquity. I cannot say respectable, because the moral character of Kew-hsien is, so to speak, under a cloud. In consequence of a horrible crime having been committed there during the Ming dynasty, it was blotted out from the list of names in the Government maps, and Fan-chang was made the district city: this disreputable locality thus became simply Kew-hsien, or "the town that was."

We exchanged our pilot here for a more brilliant-looking individual, and, with three parting cheers to the Retribution, held on our course up the unknown waters of the Ta-kiang.

A little above Kew-hsien, a large branch of the river communicates with Lake Chaou-hoo, an extensive sheet of water. On the south we are struck by the romantic beauty of the Pan-tze-chee rock, which rises in a sheer mass from the eddying stream, and is surmounted by the grey mossy ruins of a temple and pagoda, embowered among trees of many hues.

The hills rise from the water's edge in grassy slopes, partially wooded to a height of from two to three thousand feet, while lovely valleys, richly timbered, open them up in a southerly direction. The range is called Ta-hwa-shan. It trends away to the south and east at the village of Tee-kiang, which, with its three-arched bridge of heavy masonry, and its white but partially ruined houses, clustering up the hill-side, or nestling among the trees at its base, reminded me of an Italian rather than a Chinese town. As it is

only distant about five miles from Kew-hsien, Mr Wylie visited and thus describes it: "Te-kiang, which formerly contained about ten thousand inhabitants, is now a deplorable ruin. The few inhabitants that remain in the only existing street are in a constant state of apprehension, always in dread of a visit from the Tai-pings. One such took place by a party of from one to two hundred on the morning of the day on which the writer visited it; but they were beaten off, before reaching the town, by the Imperialists, who have a few junks stationed there, under the direction of the Assistant-General Tang Kwo-leen. At Hwang-hoo, a small town ten miles up the creek, it is reported there are a thousand or more of the insurgent party; and Shungan, a town a few miles further up, is also held by them. The whole country seems to be open to them from Fan-chang to Tung-ling, the chief city of the adjoining district westward, which is also in their possession."

The river now abruptly leaves the range, which takes a south-easterly direction, and, expanding into wide reaches, twists and folds itself back like a huge serpent, embracing large flat islands in its coils, but most imposing in breadth and appearance.

We frequently could get no soundings with ten fathoms, and made in consequence rapid progress.

We passed on the north bank an Imperialist position at Pih-ma-tsing, which seemed, however, to be surrounded by rebels in the immediate neighbourhood; and a little before sunset, anchored for the

night between rich alluvial banks, extending in a level plain to the base of distant hills.

The scenery through which we have passed to-day is infinitely the finest we have yet seen since entering the river.

25*th*.—Weighed at daylight. We found that our anchorage last night had been upon the outskirts of a rebel position on the north bank. A number of flat, rush-covered islands here split the stream, the southern branch, which Lord Amherst's Embassy followed, passing under the walls of Tung-ling, the chief city of the district, and a strong rebel position.

I made a practice, during my progress up the river, of spending a great part of the day in the topgallant crosstrees, from which elevated post of observation I could always obtain a good view of the surrounding country. I now looked northward over a vast, well-cultivated plain, extending for about ten miles to the base of a range which we estimated at three thousand feet in height. The inhabitants of the islands were gathering the reeds and stacking them, apparently for fuel.

The rebel town of Too-cheaou, on the north bank, presented a very un-Chinese appearance of whitewash and cleanliness. It was situated about a mile from the river, and was surrounded by a white wall, which had evidently been lately built, while the fortifications bore all the appearance of recent construction. To judge by the mass of ruins and debris, which spread

from the water's edge to the foot of the wall, the town must formerly have extended to the river.

The next point of interest at which we arrive is the Nang-shan-ke rock, a precipitous bluff on the southern bank, overhanging the stream, in which a rocky path had been scarped, and steps cut, to facilitate the tracking of boats.

The summit was richly wooded, the ruined walls of a temple rising out of the tinted foliage. The stream here forms a broad single sheet of water, but just beyond this it is divided into three branches by two low wooded islands, the largest of which is called Ho-yeh-chow, from a plant like arrowroot which it produces. We again followed the northern branch.

The celebrated mountain of Kew-hwa-shan, famous among other things for the enormous bamboos which it produces, now became visible in the hazy distance, reaching an elevation, probably, of from 4000 to 5000 feet. The range of which it forms part, approaches the river abruptly, and one of its spurs is the bluff just mentioned. This range, like that behind Kew-hsien, limits the rebel incursions; they hold the country in rear, but the river-banks are here Imperialist. The nearer summits were not above 2000 feet in height—their slopes were well timbered, and watered by numerous streams, whose course was marked by fertile valleys. While gazing at this interesting scenery through our glasses, our attention was suddenly distracted by some remarkable evolutions on the part of the Dove. She

had begun to pirouette in mid-stream in a manner quite unaccountable, until we made out the signal "wild pig." We then discovered that she was engaged in an exciting wild-boar hunt. She succeeded in lowering a boat and capturing the grisly monster before he could reach the bank, and hoisted in her prize with great triumph. His long wiry hair, gleaming tusks and bristling mane, were undeniable evidence of his savage character, even had he not shown sufficient ferocity in his endeavours to avenge himself on his pursuers, to put the matter beyond a doubt. We afterwards found, in his head, a *pièce de resistance*, which was a most valuable and palatable addition to our larder. No sooner was the boar disposed of than we observed a number of porpoises disporting themselves in the muddy stream. Our time, however, did not admit of our attempting the capture of any of these "river pigs," as they are called by the Chinese.

Looking southward across the island, we observed the houses of Ta-toong, an Imperialist position, but closely invested by the rebels, whose flags we could see flying from the hills immediately in rear.

Lord Amherst's party were detained here by contrary winds for four days, and had therefore a good opportunity of exploring the surrounding country. As we were denied any such advantage, I quote a few lines of Mr Ellis's description of the neighbourhood. "I had a delightful walk," he says, "through this truly romantic country. All the valleys are highly

cultivated with wheat, rice, cotton, and beans; the houses substantial, and shaded by trees, some of a very large size, in growth resembling the oak. The leaf is forked, and I believe the tree itself is of the maple species. Pudding-stone and sandstone composed the greater part of the hills we crossed to-day. They are all in a rapid state of disintegration. Great varieties of the oak have been observed here. We have called the jagged lofty mountains the Organ Pipes, from their resemblance to those at Rio Janeiro. The soil of the hills is poor and gravelly, adapted for little else but woodland. We have remarked several plantations of the pinaster. We observed great varieties of the fern. The oak plantations are kept very low, the twigs being used for fire-wood: bundles of oak-bark were exposed for sale in the market, employed, I believe, as by us, in tanning. The dried broad leaf of the nelumbrium serves as fuel to the lower orders, many of whom we saw returning to their homes with heaps of it."

I observed from the deck some beautiful effects of colouring in the foliage, the dark green of what appeared a species of Scotch fir contrasting charmingly with the varied tints of the maple, or the deep red of the fading leaves of the tallow tree.

Our pilot proves quite a character, most communicative and anxious to impart information, but how far it is to be relied upon remains a question. He certainly is not to be depended on in the capacity for which we had engaged him; but he made up for his

deficiency in this respect by self-sufficiency and quiet impudence, becoming, nevertheless, highly excited whenever we touched the bottom, as upon these occasions he considers that his head is in danger for getting us into a scrape. He has already made friends with sundry sailors, frequents much the stoke-hole upon cold mornings, and appears on deck in a pair of long woollen stockings, which have been served out to him from the ship's stores. Cigars are his especial weakness, and in order to enjoy them he perches himself in the chains like a monkey, and smokes in a sybaritic manner, expressive of keen enjoyment. Altogether, he considers that he has performed his functions as a pilot, if, after we have got aground, he emerges from some place of concealment, and tells Captain Osborn that at this place the water is not deep, the proper channel being quite in another direction, which he does not venture to specify, but disappears again to finish his cigar, and contemplate the consequences to himself of our unpleasant situation.

This worthy now informs me that the principal staples of cultivation in this district are wheat, cotton, millet, potatoes, rice, and hemp. In the neighbourhood of Toong-lew, a city at which we are to arrive to-morrow, they grow tea of an ordinary description, which is sold at tenpence a pound. Tobacco is also grown at a place some distance inland. There is no silk cultivated in this neighbourhood. The pilot states that he himself was employed in the

junks which transported grain for the annual supply of Pekin, prior to the demolition of part of the Grand Canal and the occupation of the river by the rebels. He holds the rebels in supreme aversion and contempt; "not only," he says, "do they not shave the head, but call each other brother and sister, not distinguishing the generations." I remarked that it must be difficult to distinguish between rebels from choice and those who are under compulsion. He said that the length of the hair was a very fair criterion. The Imperialists know how long a place had been in rebel occupation, and those people whose hair did not correspond in length to the period of time, were generally regarded as old rebels.

As we passed the end of the long island where the Ta-toong branch enters the main stream, we observed two official boats, each decorated with four gaudy flags, and propelled by twelve rowers, standing with their faces to the prow, making towards us. We accordingly eased our speed, and discovered them to be two fifth-grade mandarins (crystal buttons), who came on board. They announced themselves as emissaries of Wang and Le, commanding the Imperial troops and fleet at Ta-toong, and who were desirous now of presenting their compliments to the great foreign chief, and of making an offer of their services. We gave them some sherry, which they swallowed with very wry faces. They had evidently never seen a European, much less a four-hundred horse-power steam-frigate before, and could scarcely

deliver themselves of their message, so wrapt were they in contemplation of surrounding objects. The pilot at once commenced expatiating to them on the wonders of the barbarian ship, remarking that he had attained the age of thirty-one, and was only now beginning to have his eyes opened.

Near Ta-toong begins the Meikan Lake, or rather Lagoon, separated from the river by a narrow strip of land, and extending parallel to it for about thirty miles. At Wang-chea-tan, an Imperial port, which we passed on the north bank, we observed a creek filled with small junks, and shortly after encountered a large fleet of them. Those whom we hailed told us their cargo consisted of paper. They had emerged from some creek in Imperialist occupation on the south shore, and were now on their way up a small tributary into districts not infested by rebels. They were the first trading junks we had seen since entering the river, and the white sails dotted over the broad stream imparted to it an unusual air of animation.

The north bank of the river is more uniformly flat than the south. The range is generally more distant. The intervening country seems thickly, but by no means densely populated: the people collect into small hamlets, each with its clump of willow or other trees.

Before reaching Che-chow the stream again divided, we following, as usual, the northern branch; while Lord Amherst's party took that called Ma Show-ja, leading past Che-chow, which important

city was visible in the distance, a handsome seven-storied pagoda indicating its position from afar.

The town itself lies among hills; it is a district city, and one of the strongly fortified positions of the insurgents, under the command of Wei-che-Suen, one of their high officers.

The view from our airy perch in the crosstrees this afternoon was singularly beautiful. We had exchanged the southern range, which usually skirted the river, for the northern, which now approached it abruptly. In this direction the hills rose in undulating masses overtopping each other, till a bold irregular outline of soft dark blue closed the prospect. Small lakes glittered like gems in the hollows; and over the bright foliage of the woods in which they were embosomed, the setting sun shed a yet brighter glow; farms and hamlets and green fields gave a domestic character to the scenery; and as we gazed over it, we found it difficult to believe that a country which nature had clothed in such warm and cheerful colours, and invested with so many attractions, should be the theatre which men had chosen for the display of all the worst passions of which human nature is capable. Yet so it proved, and the very accident of war contributed another and most picturesque feature to the scene.

A large Imperial fleet was assembled at the mouth of a river, which we could discern winding among the hills, occasionally expanding into a lake, then twisting away like a silver thread.

This fleet was composed of fifty handsome war-junks, filled with soldiers in bright uniforms, and gay with flaunting flags; fluttering above one alone, I counted no fewer than twenty-one flags, all of different colours and devices. Some of the junks were of more than usually quaint construction, elaborately ornamented, carrying six and eight brass guns on a side, and propelled by sweeps. As it was now sundown, we anchored amid this gay throng: when we had furnished the charming landscape with this brilliant and novel foreground, the scene altogether was so fanciful and unreal, that when the curtain of night shrouded it from our view, we might have imagined that the play was over, and that it only now remained to scramble out of the theatre, call a hansom, and go home to bed.

The absence of beef reminded us of the stern realities of our situation. Messrs Wade and Lay, therefore, went on board the one from which the greatest number of pennons were flying, and which might not unnaturally be supposed to be the "flag junk," in search of an admiral. They found only a Commodore: Admiral Yang, it appeared, who, we understand, was at Ta-toong, had gone on to Nankin to superintend operations against the rebels. The Commodore promised beef before daylight, without fail. We had no doubt of its existence, as we had observed large herds of cattle at pasture on the north bank. It appeared that the fleet was from the province of Hoopeh; that the river at the mouth of which we were

now anchored was called the Tsung-yang-ho, and that the town of Tsung-yang was situated among the hills five miles distant.

We thus terminated a long and interesting day. The distance made was satisfactory, the water had been deep, some of the reaches magnificent, and the scenery, on the whole, beyond our expectations.

26*th.*—The beef never made its appearance after all: the early morning hours were too valuable to waste in waiting for it, so we were once more *en route* a little after daylight. I counted altogether anchored on both sides of the river, a little above Tsung-yang, two hundred and fifty war-junks, flying defiant flags, and well manned.

We soon pass the Tai-tse-kee rock, rising out of the centre of the river but a very few feet above its waters, upon which, nevertheless, are still visible the ruined walls of an old temple. A few hundred yards beyond it is the 48-chang, or 180-yards' passage. The river is here barred more than half across its width by rocks which rise out of it like stepping-stones. It is called the Lan-kan-ke, or "Bar-river-hen," and derives its name from the following legend, as graphically narrated to us by our communicative pilot:—

"In former days, the scenery at this place was very beautiful and romantic, gigantic rocks being strewn over the surface of the country. One day a Bonze saw in a dream a quarrel arise between the beneficent spirits of the air and those who resided in

the rocks. The presiding spirit of these was a rock in the form of a hen; and the result of the quarrel was, that, to give vent to their spleen, the rock-spirits determined to block up the passage of the river. In pursuance of this ill-natured design, off started the hen-rock, followed by all the rocks in her train, when the priest awoke, and, perceiving what was occurring, with infinite presence of mind commenced crowing like a cock. This so fascinated the leading hen-rock, that her progress was arrested in mid-channel, on which the goddess Kwan-yin was invoked; then the people subscribed together, and while the hen-rock was thus enthralled by the well-sustained crowing of the priest, they succeeded in cutting her head off; this effectually checked the progress of herself and attendant rocks, and there they remain to this day."

To avoid this dangerous pass, a cutting has been made on the southern bank, through a corner called No-yang-ho. We, however, found deep water and a safe channel close under the opposite shore. Before reaching Ngan-king, the river divides, leaving numerous broad islands, which are flat and extensively cultivated, and well supplied with cattle. We observed green grass spread over the young crops, to protect them from the frost. As we heard occasional heavy firing going on ahead, I went up to the crosstrees, and could perceive from them the rebel and Imperialist troops skirmishing in the distance. Columns of black smoke rising in various directions, proved to us that the work of destruction was progressing, and that

houses and villages were being reduced to ashes far and wide. Presently we open Ngan-king, the capital city of Ngan-hwui, with its handsome eight-storied pagoda rising out of a substantially-built isolated stone fort, and massive walls skirting the river, giving the city quite an imposing appearance.

Riding along the shore, and keeping up with us as we steamed against the strong current, was an Imperialist officer, apparently of high rank—for he rode a handsome white horse, decorated with gay trappings, and was accompanied by ten or twelve horsemen, well armed and appointed. It seemed that the Government troops had received notice of our approach, and had determined to take advantage of it, in order to make a grand attack upon Ngan-king, the advanced rebel position up the river, and strongly garrisoned by them. The mounted mandarin was evidently a General making a reconnoissance, for he did not venture within gunshot of the fort, but galloped back seemingly well satisfied with his achievement.

The Lee is leading the way, sounding for a channel; we are following cautiously, when puff spurts a little cloud of white smoke from one of the embrasures, and a shot comes singing along over the water, but the elevation is deficient, and it falls into it, within twenty yards of its mark. However, the direction was good, and this style of reception demands an immediate rejoinder. It is evident that the news of the Nankiñ episode has not reached Ngan-king; in-

deed, we knew that it was impossible that it could have done so; and as we anticipated a further act of folly at this end of the rebel position, our decks were cleared for action, and the men stood ready at their guns. The smoke of the first shot had not cleared away from the muzzle of the gun before the well-known flag which heads the list of British signals was flying from our mast-head, and the Furious, Cruizer, Dove, and Lee, had opened in full chorus. The brave garrison just stuck to their guns long enough to fire three times more, and then from my look-out I could see them running like rats out of the fort into the open country in rear of it. Here, however, they found themselves in a dilemma; for the Imperialists had descended from the heights behind, and, plucking up courage, were now advancing in light skirmishing order over the open plain, with the evident intention of attacking the fort in rear. They scarcely calculated upon finding the whole garrison out upon the plain to meet them. We could see the rebels hastily running together, and forming under hedgerows, and the Imperialists, afraid to advance, waving banners and firing at them at incredible distances with gingalls.

At this time the general effect was in the highest degree exciting and picturesque. The hurrying of bodies of men to and fro over the fields—the waving of flags and firing of gingalls—the thunder of our own heavy guns—the groups of country people hastening across the drawbridge into the city for refuge, stag-

gering under heavy loads, and driving cattle before them—the smoke of their burning homes rising up to the cloudless sky,—all combined to form a scene to gaze upon which, as it lay mapped out beneath, must have stirred the heart and sent the blood tingling through the veins of the most unimpassioned nature.

It is so seldom that we experience emotions which unite in themselves at one and the same moment the highest amount of æsthetic and animal excitement. When Madame de Staël said, "Pour bien gouter la nature il faut ou l'amour, ou la religion," she had not tried the effect of "la guerre." Our fire only lasted for ten minutes; we did not care to deface the ornamented exterior of the pagoda, or expend our moorsom shells upon empty batteries. Moreover, as the Imperialists had not the pluck to run into the deserted fort when we had cleared it for them, they deserved to lose it; so we ceased firing, and steamed gently under the city walls, and before we had passed them, saw the fort reoccupied by the original tenants.

Some of Lord Amherst's party visited this pagoda, and describe it as being in good repair, with a handsome marble obelisk in the basement story, containing the heart of a celebrated warrior. As a good many of our shot struck the pagoda, the obelisk may have suffered, if the iconoclastic propensities of the rebels have not already led them to regard this monument in the light of a sacred emblem. It was fortunate for us that the effect which our fire, short as it was, had created, prevented the rebels from firing at us

from the city walls; for the deep channel led us within fifty or sixty yards of them, and we seemed to look into the muzzles of the guns as we passed before them: but the batteries here, too, were partially deserted, and I could look down upon bare places in the city, where groups were collected, half uncertain as to our intentions; and here and there soldiers ran crouching along the walls, not caring to be seen by us.

Just as we reached the last angle, and were congratulating ourselves upon our good luck, two guns were fired upon us in rapid succession, and at rather close quarters. This was a piece of absurd impertinence, which involved another ten minutes' bombardment as a punishment. It came upon them too hot and strong to admit even of a third shot. The battery was speedily silenced, and after trying our range at some of the most imposing-looking public buildings in the centre of the town, and bursting a shell or two in the streets, by way of a warning, we left Ngan-king behind us, and with it got clear of the last stronghold of our not very agreeable friends the rebels. On this side of the city, as on the other, country people were running in before the advancing Imperialists. These latter are concentrating on this city, and on Nankin, all their energies, as they are on the extreme right and left of the rebel position, and provincial cities. Though finely situated, and surrounded by a well-built wall, the city is not so extensive or populous in appear-

ance as most towns of its class. I observed, nevertheless, several handsome substantial houses and yamuns. The suburbs had all been levelled, and presented a lamentable appearance of desolation. Mr Ellis, who explored the city in 1816, says the shops were not so good as at Woohoo, and the streets were unusually narrow. The best shops were those for the sale of horn-lanterns and porcelain. "There would," he remarks, "have been little difficulty in laying out a large sum in curiosities of all kinds—such as necklaces, old china, agate-cups, vases, ornaments of corundum and other stones, curious specimens of carved work in wood and metal."

Not long after leaving Ngan-king, we passed another Imperial fleet of upwards of two hundred junks at anchor. We also observed the country people flitting, and upon asking the pilot the reason of this, he said that doubtless the noise of our bombardment had led them to suppose that the city would be captured, and a horde of rebels be let loose upon the country to rob and plunder.

It must not be inferred from this that the insurgents are the only people addicted to these vices. I have already described the country people as flying into Ngan-king before the Imperialist troops. The unhappy peasantry are indeed the victims of the lawless propensities of both sides. Indifferent to either, and desiring only peace and quiet, they are pillaged first by one and then the other; and in the case of cities, the Imperialists, on driving out the

rebels, generally complete the work which these latter have left half finished.

We were now cheered by the sight of occasional trading-junks, and passed several collected at the villages of Hong-tse-kee and Wang-tse-kee, on the south side. At the latter point, red clay bluffs, at the base of which large boulders of rock are strewn, approach the river.

From the crosstrees we saw a vast expanse of water at some distance from the river, on the north bank. This lagoon extends from Ngan-king for a distance of upwards of thirty miles parallel with the river, varying in breadth from one to five or six miles. It is known under various names. Behind it, high ranges of mountains are visible. In parts the country was park-like, the woods being dotted over it in thick clumps. On the south bank the hills are lower, and wooded, concealing small lakes in their recesses. Altogether, it seemed as though the combination of moor and loch, wood, marsh, and cultivated ground, should afford abundant and varied sport.

The city of Toong-lew is charmingly situated on the south bank. The houses are overtopped by two pagodas. One of eight stories stands close to the river; the other is built on an eminence some distance inland. The town is of no great extent, and is surrounded by a wall which dips and rises over the undulating ground, and finally descends to the water of a lake which half encircles the town, and is

fringed with trees. As we looked into it from aloft, we saw acres of charred ruins, the traces of rebel occupation; they, however, merely contented themselves with burning a great part of the city, and then evacuated it, after holding it for a very short time. A plain half a mile broad separates it from the river. This was soon thickly dotted with human beings, as the people observed us anchor before their city, and came running to the shore to gaze at us. We procured from them some fowls and other minor additions to our stock. Our day's run had exceeded fifty miles; so that we were well pleased with our progress. Some of the reaches along which we had passed, carrying plenty of water, were ten miles in length, and between one and two in breadth, without a bend. We are daily more impressed with the capabilities of this mighty stream.

CHAPTER XVII.

A FORAGING EXPEDITION—OUR PILOT ROMANCES—GRANDEUR OF THE SCENERY—THE "LITTLE ORPHAN ROCK"—A WINDY LOCALITY—ENTRANCE TO THE POYANG LAKE—LEGEND OF THE "ORPHAN ROCKS"—FLOODS OF THE YANG-TSE—METHOD OF ACCOUNTING FOR THEM—RURAL STATISTICS—APPEARANCE OF THE WOMEN—GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY—THE VALLEY OF THE YANG-TSE—KEW-KIANG—A SURVEY OF ITS RESOURCES—VILLAGES ON THE BANKS—MAGNIFICENT SCENERY—DEPREDATIONS OF THE NEE-FEI—WE LAND AT HWANG-SHIH-KANG—ITS COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY—WHITE TORTOISE ISLAND—ENTER THE PROVINCE OF HOOPEH—THE PHILOSOPHER LAOUTZ'—THE "WHITE TIGER HILLS"—AN UNSATISFACTORY DIALOGUE—APPROACH HAN-KOW.

October 27.—Weighed early from Toong-lew. The mountains on the southern bank now increase in height, but we had hardly begun to enjoy the scenery when we went aground on a sand-bank. While they were trying to get the ship off, we landed on a foraging expedition, and succeeded in procuring four bullocks. The country was flat, and the soil light and sandy. Small farms were dotted about; and carts drawn by buffaloes, ridden instead of driven, creaked across it.

The country people told us, that not very long since the rebels had overrun their district, and they had been obliged to fly. They were all armed, and

many bore on their breasts the inscription, "Valiant," signifying that they were enrolled in the militia. Some of the young men had been kidnapped by the rebels, and one of them, who had escaped from their clutches, was pointed out to us.

We took our pilot ashore with us, which alarmed him greatly, as he supposed that we were going to inflict some description of summary punishment upon him for running us aground. When, however, he discovered that we only required him to bargain for bullocks, he recovered his composure, and was soon imparting, with much animated action, to a group of admiring countrymen, a very highly-embellished narrative of our late action at Ngan-king. With our heroic performances on that occasion he was careful to identify himself. "You should have seen how we gave it to them," he said, "how our shot told, and how big our shot was; why, it would have taken three such blessed old fools as you to lift one of them." This was said to a respectable middle-aged man, who was sucking a pipe and staring incredulously at the narrator. It turned the laugh in his favour.

As some of our party had discovered a lake a short distance inland, we started off to explore it. We found it covered with water-fowl. Pelicans, wild swans, geese, ducks, besides cranes, herons, and a number of feathered bipeds unknown to me, cackled, fluttered, and stalked about, making a great racket. Unfortunately, we were a large and somewhat noisy party, and they were very shy. A rash shot sent them all wheeling

into the air with loud cries, and they continued to circle and scream overhead, to see whether we would go away; and finding us stationary, tailed off in long strings to some more secure retreat.

I prosecuted my explorations with two companions, and crossing a low ridge, came upon a farm, which rejoiced in the descriptive name of Hwa-yuen-chin, or "The Flower-garden Station." It was situated on the margin of a great lagoon, about two miles broad, and of unknown length, called by the natives Ta-hoo, or "The Lake" *par excellence*. Here I shot a brace of fine ducks; one of them, however, was only wounded, and gave us a long chase in a punt, which we opportunely found and appropriated. The water was nowhere more than six or eight feet in depth.

We were told that the light sandy soil retained the heat of the sun in summer, making it almost impossible for the people to work in their fields during the heat of the day. Even now, late in November, the mid-day sun was formidable, though the nights and mornings were absolutely cold. The ship got off about 4 P.M., but remained at anchor for the night.

28*th*.—Weighed early. The morning was mild at sunrise, but shortly after a regular north-east gale set in, bitterly cold, and very strong. The scenery upon the south shore assumed a character of grandeur, surpassing anything we had hitherto seen. The mountains came boldly down to the water's edge, projecting into the river in rocky promontories or precipitous bluffs. The most striking of these is the

the Ma-fang-shan, which, however, as we followed a northern channel, we only saw at a distance. The gale now blew furiously, obscuring the atmosphere with clouds of dust. This haziness, and the general blackness of the weather, invested our approach to the gorge of Seaou-koo-shan with quite an imposing effect. The Cruizer, with topgallant masts struck, lay over to the blast; the two little gunboats, scarcely visible ahead, seemed plunging into the depths of some infernal region, the gigantic portals of which loomed indistinctly through the mist. Presently we found ourselves forcing our way between two lofty masses of rock, in a channel scarce a quarter of a mile in width, and fifteen or sixteen fathoms deep.

The Seaou-koo-shan, or "Little Orphan Rock," rises precipitously out of the midst of the waves which were dashing against it to a height of near three hundred feet. The mountain opposite, called Chin-tze-shan, or the "Mirror Mountain," rises in a sheer mass from the river margin, and is crowned by walls running along the brink of precipices, and towers perched on dizzy pinnacles of rock. Part of this fortification is the work of the rebels. A Buddhist temple has been built, or rather let into the face of the Orphan Rock, like a piece of enamel, about midway between the base and the summit. It is approached by steps hewn out of the rock, and presents a most striking and picturesque aspect. Mr Ellis, who visited this temple, says, that a paper was brought to him by the priests, stating that the temple had been endowed

by the Emperor's mother. Junks usually stop here and make offerings to propitiate the local deity. We observed an inscription upon a smooth part of the

The Seaou-koo-shan (Yang-tse-kiang.)

rock, conspicuously placed, and which Mr Wade imagined to be a quotation. It was as follows :—

> "Green hill by the river,
> From the extremity of its bend, one beholds thee."

This pass marks the boundary between the provinces of Ngan-hwui and Kiang-si.

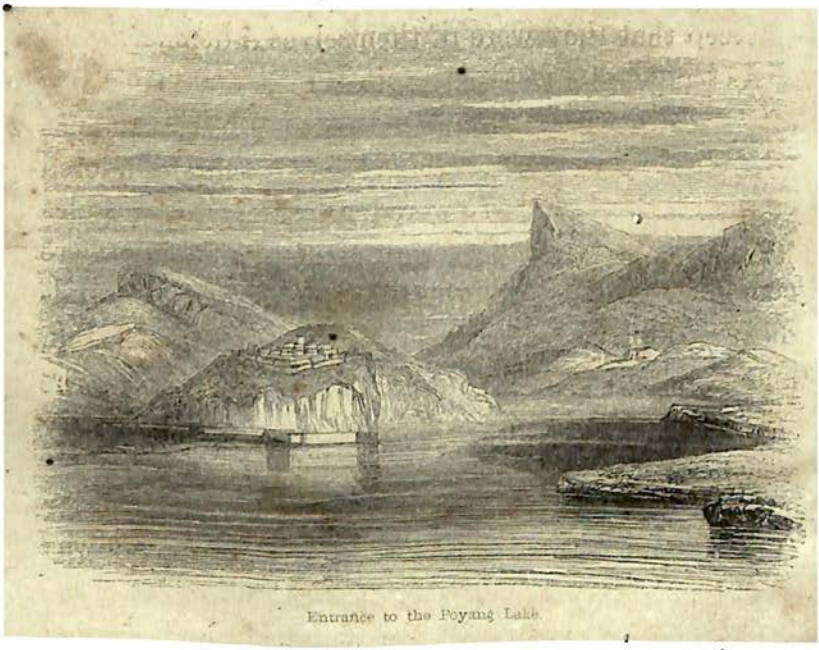
We now enter this latter province, described in the *Chinese Repository* as one spacious valley, comprising an area of 72,176 square miles, or about equal

to the State of Virginia, with a population of more than twenty-three million of souls. The first place on it at which we arrive is Pang-tse, picturesquely situated among the hills. The few buildings that remain of a town never very extensive are surrounded by a wall, which encloses as well a vast area of barren hill and valley. The object of those who planned the walls seems to have been to carry them to the top of the highest hills, and over ridges so steep that they were of themselves a defence.

As the wind increased almost to a hurricane this afternoon, we came to an anchor at 2 P.M., at a spot where a very disagreeable bar of sand rendered caution necessary. We were led to believe that gales such as the one we were now experiencing were common in this locality, from the numerous sand-dunes which we observed upon the southern bank, and which presented a remarkable contrast to the green knolls and wooded mountains which usually rose from it.

29*th*.—The thermometer early this morning fell for the first time to two degrees below freezing. It was found necessary to buoy the channel ahead, and the wind having moderated, we weighed, and carried three fathoms of water across the bar. The gale of yesterday seems to have cleared the air, for the day is beautiful, and enables us to appreciate the magnificent scenery which opens upon us as we approach the entrance to the Poyang Lake. The channel connecting this extensive sheet of water with the great river

is about three miles long and one broad. On its eastern shore, at the point of junction, Hoo-kow, "the City of the Lake's Mouth," is perched upon the precipitous rock called Tsa-chee, or the "Jagged Head," opposite to which the majestic Lew-shan, or "Mule" mountain, rears its imposing crest to a height of five thousand feet. Rising out of the waters of the lake in solitary grandeur, we could discern in the distance



Entrance to the Poyang Lake.

the Takoo-shan, or Great Orphan Rock. These romantic scenes, and the associations connected with them, have rendered them the frequent subjects of poetic celebration among the people.

Our pilot, who is a great legend-monger, gave us the following account of the origin of the Takoo-

shan. A fisherman once dropped his anchor under Seaou-koo-shan, or the Little Orphan rock, and could not find it again, so he applied to a priest to help him. The priest gave him an invocation, which he was to place upon his forehead and then dive for his anchor. The spell succeeded to a miracle: not only did he discover his lost anchor, but a charming river-nymph as well, who had chosen it for her couch. At first he stood entranced at so fair a vision; then, regaining his presence of mind, he determined on preserving a memento of it, and gently abstracting a tiny shoe from the fascinating crushed foot of this Chinese Naiad, he ascended to the surface with his anchor. But the lady, probably roused by finding herself dispossessed of her iron bedstead, discovered the loss of her shoe, and instantly started in pursuit. Notwithstanding that a stern chase is usually a long chase, the fisherman was rapidly losing ground, when he bethought himself of altering the position of the sails, so as to mislead his fair pursuer as to the direction he was taking, the stem and stern of his junk being alike. This device, however, though it originated an entirely new rig upon the river, failed, and he was ultimately so hard pressed that he was obliged to throw the shoe overboard at the mouth of the Poyang Lake; and on the spot arose the solitary rock called Takoo-shan, or sometimes Sheae-koo-shan, or the Shoe Hill, ever after.

The navigation at this point was in the highest degree intricate: the mass of water pouring out of the

lake and meeting the swift current of the river, formed whirlpools and eddies, known in China as "chow-chow" water, and, what we dreaded more, shoals and bars in every direction.

We had not advanced ten miles from our last night's anchorage before we found ourselves hard and fast upon one of these provoking impediments. Not that delays of this character were to be altogether regretted, as they gave us opportunities of landing and exploring the country. The ship had not been on shore ten minutes before we followed its example, and were straggling far and wide, some of us in search of game, others of information, and others again of bullocks and fowls.

We had landed on the north bank, and the country stretched away, in one unbroken level, to a range of hills just visible in the distance. Herds of buffaloes were grazing upon the pastures, numbers of them bestridden by urchins, who, seated upon the backs of these ungainly animals, tended the herd, presenting, as they did so, a most singular appearance. A *levée* extended along the river-bank to keep its waters from overflowing the country in rear, and upon it the peasantry had built an almost continuous row of mean cottages, the roofs and walls of which were of reeds. Here and there a stone building had been erected as a rebel post, or as a house of entertainment by some enterprising speculator. A dread of floods operated as the chief inducement to putting up tenements of so unsubstantial a character, many of the

owners having farms on the hills, to which they repaired during the rains. They asserted that the river occasionally rose a hundred feet. We were contented to believe, however, our own observation, and the marks we perceived convinced us that fifty feet above its then level was a low estimate for its summer rise. Here the current had evidently rushed violently over the face of the country, devastating an immense area of cultivated or pasture land by depositing upon it great quantities of sand.

It would appear that ultimately the waters only partially recede, leaving vast tracts covered with those lagoons and marshes which we continued to observe on both banks of the river. During the dry season a considerable subsidence takes place, and the channels by which their surplus waters were discharged into the river dry up. The consequence is, that, after partial rains, all those mountain torrents which would, under other circumstances, go to swell the waters of the parent stream, get absorbed in the lakes at the base of the hills, and unless the rain is of sufficient duration to overflow them, the river receives no additional supply. Meantime the great evaporation which must take place from so large a surface of water renders the rise of the lakes comparatively slow. This would appear the only way of accounting for the fact that, although partial rises do occur in the river, they are not so common as the humidity of the climate would lead one to anticipate. In all probability it will be

found, however, that these rises occur more frequently below the Poyang Lake than above it. This may be presumed, from the fact that the waters which supply the Poyang, rising in lower latitudes, are not subject to those frosts, and are more readily thawed than the upper tributaries of the river, and that consequently the volume of water discharged from the lake varies in amount to a much greater extent than that which flows down to meet it.

But the violence of the river was not more dreaded by the unhappy peasantry than that of the rebels: when they were not flooded out by the one, they were burnt out by the other. But a few months had elapsed since the "pests" had scoured this district, and had burnt all the houses for fuel. As one of the peasantry pathetically remarked when he told us of it—"Ah! those were sad times!"

We entered a small brick cottage, on the door-post of which the owner had signified that it was a house of entertainment for travellers, and found that it was divided into two small rooms and one large one. In the latter were straw beds on the ground, in which eight or ten travellers might have been closely packed. The owner informed us that he possessed three acres of land, producing various descriptions of pulse and grain, which he showed us, and for which he paid Government a ground-rent of 3s. 6d. He exported his produce to the neighbouring districts.

Close to the inn was a village school, in which

there were only eight pupils. The schoolmaster told us that he got eight strings of cash, or about nine shillings a-year, per pupil, but that many of the country people were too poor to avail themselves of the privilege, and sent their children to tend cattle instead.

Passing another cottage, we detected the fumes of opium, and on entering found two men smoking tobacco; but a light gleaming through a crevice from an inner compartment betrayed the secret occupation of the inmate, and on looking in, we found him stretched comfortably on his side, frizzling the opium through a flame into his pipe in the most approved manner. So absorbed was he in the enjoyment of "kief," that he scarcely condescended to notice us, though we must have presented a very unexpected and startling apparition. His comrades asked us what we had to sell, evidently inferring, from the interest we displayed in the consumption of the "drug," that we had some of it to dispose of.

We did not see many women; those who did favour us with a sight of their countenances might certainly have spared us that treat. I think I never saw the fair sex under a less attractive exterior.

It was at this point that Lord Amherst's mission left the Great River, taking the route to Canton by way of the Poyang Lake, which gave rise to the following parting reflection, to be found in Mr Ellis's *Journal*: "In vain will the patriot look for kindred feelings—in vain will the man of honour look for a

friend—and still more in vain would amiable woman look for a companion on the banks of the Yang-tse-kiang." So far as our experience went, this latter sentiment was as true of "amiable" man.

The village we had been exploring was called Pa-le-kiang, or the Eight-"le"-river, and is the spot from which travellers journeying south usually cross the Ta-kiang. Père Huc, who travelled overland from Woochang, struck it at this point, and crossed to Hookow.

In a geographical point of view, the section of the river which traverses this corner of Kiang-si is perhaps the most interesting. We had now ascended the Ta-kiang for a distance of four hundred and fifty miles, and had only just reached its first real affluent; for, with the exception of the Tsung-yang river, all those tributaries marked as such in the map turned out to be ditches almost dry in the winter time. But here the great river meets a feeder worthy of it. In a single deep rolling tide the Poyang Lake discharges into it the whole drainage of the vast province of Kiang-si. Surrounded on all sides by lofty ranges, the northern barrier of this lake must at some former period have proved the feeblest, and given egress to the accumulated waters through this gorge.

As though to meet this important accession, the Ta-kiang takes that southern bend which forms one of the most marked features of its course. In forming this curve it has been compelled to force its passage

through the Ma-tze-shan, or "Horse's Spine" range, which forms part of the western boundary of Kiang-si, dividing that province from Hoopeh. These mountains cross the river at Woo-sueh, and under another name trend away to the north-east, marking the frontier of the province in that direction, and leaving a small strip of it enclosed between them and the northern bank of the Ta-kiang. After having thus fulfilled its mission, by dipping into Kiang-si and carrying off the surplus waters of the Poyang, the great river leaves the province by the romantic pass of the Seaou-koo-shan, or "Orphan Rock," already described.

The mountain system of this part of China may be better understood by supposing that, with those ranges, along the base of which the river forms its southern curve, a northern range is connected, forming, as it were, a loop upon it, and opposing barriers which the river has burst to obtain ingress and egress. At the same time, it is to be borne in mind that the mountains composing this loop are not the only mountains to the north of the river. As repeatedly observed, high ranges were constantly visible in that direction, though they rarely approached the river. In fact, throughout the whole length of our voyage, the great valley of the Yang-tse, or Ta-kiang, has maintained the same general character, which may be described in a few words. Its breadth varied exceedingly, and may have ranged from ten to fifty miles. The river invariably hugged the

southern range, which seldom receded more than four or five miles from its banks, leaving a strip of alluvial plain, while numerous lakes washed the base of the hills or lay embosomed among them. To the north, plain and lake sometimes extended far as the eye could reach; but generally mountains, more or less distant, closed the prospect.

30*th*.—We found, to our disgust, that we had followed the wrong passage; we were therefore obliged to retrace our steps over the bar, and, rounding the island opposite the entrance to the lake, look for a channel in that direction. This we were at last fortunate enough to discover, but not without crossing another very difficult bar. At two o'clock P.M. we were opposite Kew-kiang. As we had letters to the authorities of this important "foo" city, the first one of its class belonging to the Imperialists we had reached since leaving Chin-kiang-foo, we remained here for the remainder of the day, and went on shore to investigate its present condition. We found it to the last degree deplorable. A single dilapidated street, composed only of a few mean shops, was all that existed of this once thriving and populous city; the remainder of the vast area, comprised within walls five or six miles in circumference, contained nothing but ruins, weeds, and kitchen-gardens. The inhabitants declare that this is partly owing to the five years' occupation of the town by the rebels, and partly to the destructive propensities of the Imperialist troops who retook it from them only last April,

or seven months ago. Its present garrison consisted of four thousand men, while its population scarce amounted to as many hundreds. They seemed, all of them, following in our train; their faces expressive of intense astonishment, mingled with some alarm.

In the centre of the city was an eminence covered with ruins, which commanded an extensive and remarkable view. Beneath us lay a dreary waste of brickbats; behind us rose the magnificent peaks of the precipitous Lew-shan; before us a chain of lakes extended into the dim distance, until they were merged in the fiery haze of a setting sun; while, sweeping under the walls, the mighty Ta-kiang poured its yellow volume seawards. The only bright object in Kew-kiang was a Confucian temple, which had just been built by the Emperor; it contained a tablet inscribed by a celebrated minister of state to the memory of his friend, a Tartar general, who had fallen at the capture of the city.

In the suburb there was a more substantial street and better shops: one of them was devoted to the sale of foreign fabrics; in it I observed Manchester calicoes and a species of red serge which was imported from Russia. We visited an apothecary's shop, and saw him prescribe crushed spiders, ginseng, and sundry roots and reptiles, to anxious patients; also a baker's establishment, where we found that some of the flour used came all the way from the province of Shantung. We nibbled sweetmeats at a grocer's, inspected cottons at a haberdasher's, and searched in

vain for old china in a crockery-shop. Kew-kiang boasts two pagodas—one outside and one inside the city—the latter partially destroyed.

December 1.—In consequence of the difficulties of the navigation yesterday, the Lee was sent on this morning to explore the river ahead ; on her returning with a favourable report, we weighed, and proceeded prosperously for about twenty miles, when we were brought up suddenly by a bar, across which it was necessary to buoy a channel. We ultimately scraped over, with about three inches to spare under the keel. At this point the village of Loong-ping is situated on the north bank, and on the opposite side some red clay bluffs are a conspicuous feature.

Looking in a southerly direction, we could see from the crosstrees a large lake dotted with high wooded islands, upon which, in the distance, the white sails of numerous junks that were navigating it were visible.

To the north, an extensive lake, also covered with junks, stretched away to the base of a distant range. I here observed, for the first time, wood rafts—each with a small population of its own, who lived in huts constructed upon them. The country was flat and well cultivated, maintaining a large and apparently more thriving population than we had observed at any previous section of the river. A much-frequented road traversed the plain, along which numerous travellers journeyed in wheelbarrows, protecting themselves from the sun's rays with bright-coloured umbrellas.

A few miles further we pass, on the northern bank, the flourishing market-town of Woo-sueh, the whole population of which turned out to stare at us; and on the south the pretty village of Ma-kow, charmingly situated in a wooded valley. The Ma-tze-shan, or Horse's Spine mountains, now approach the river, rising abruptly from its waters to a height of 1500 or 2000 feet. We are delighted to observe that the northern chain seems to bar our progress ahead; as through them we shall have to force our way to-morrow; and to judge from the mountainous nature of the country, we may depend upon fine scenery. Meantime our voyage of to-day has been invested with an interest peculiar to itself. Never before had these waters been explored by a foreigner; unless mayhap some stray Jesuit in disguise, who has given us no account of his wanderings, may have traversed them in the course of his missionary labours. We could now, therefore, look forward to indulging for some days in that rare but delightful excitement of gazing for the first time upon scenes heretofore unvisited.

2*d*. — We were on deck earlier than usual this morning, determined not to miss any of the unknown beauties of the river. Shortly after weighing, we entered the gorge from which the river emerges into the province of Kiang-si. Mountains overhang it on both sides, and as it winds between them it assumes all the appearance of a highland loch. The valleys are wooded with dark-green firs; the grey rocks are

crowned with purple heather, and wild crags force themselves into bold and picturesque relief.

The most striking spot is at the precipitous bluff of Pwan-pien-shan, opposite to which the surface of the limestone cliff is quarried out, and on a projecting point a temple is left standing. With almost every revolution of the paddle-wheels a new point of view opened upon us, displaying unexpected attractions of peak and pinnacle in the foreground, and the abrupt outlines of lofty ranges in the distance. To one of these, in consequence of a singular depression in its outline, we gave the name of the "Devil's bite range."

Passing the towns of Sha-wootze and Tien-shia-chin, we reached at 11 A.M. the sub-prefectural city of Ke-Chow, its walls crowning a bluff which overhangs the river. Rising from the midst of the stream is a circular stone fort. We remained here a short time to receive a mandarin, who came on board to present to Lord Elgin the compliments of the Governor-General of Hoo-Kwang, into whose jurisdiction we had now entered. The river was crowded with small junks, all going in one direction; and foot-passengers thronged the roads along its margin. We learned from our visitor, on asking him the cause of this commotion, that the rebels were at Kwang-tse, a city lying thirty or forty miles distant, to the north-east, and mentioned by Huc as having been visited by him.

These were probably not the Tai-ping rebels, but some of the Nēĕ-fei, who had taken advantage of the

insecure state of the country to commit depredations which were driving the country people from their homes. Some of the provincial authorities were now in the city, endeavouring to restore confidence; to assist them, a large body of Imperial cavalry, numbered at 10,000 by our informant, had just arrived, and were then encamped in the neighbourhood. Kechow had been partially destroyed by the Tai-pings, who held it off and on, until they were finally driven away about a year ago.

A little beyond the city, we passed the scene of a bloody fight between the rebels and Imperialists, in 1854, of which our pilot gave us a most animated description; according to him, the former were beaten, forced into the river, and upwards of 20,000 drowned or otherwise destroyed.

In the afternoon, we passed the precipitous bluff Taou-tse-fuh, rising in an unbroken wall to the height of 500 feet out of the water. Behind it, a magnificent mountain-range displayed scenes of great grandeur and picturesque beauty. A Chin-chai, or mandarin of high degree, followed by a train of boats, passed us in the largest river-junk I have yet seen, handsomely decorated, and with the usual display of gongs, umbrellas, and banners. He was probably on his way "to restore confidence." We reached the important market-town of Hwang-shih-kang, or "Yellow Stone" —probably so called from the quarries in the neighbourhood—in time to explore it before dark. A splendid river-wall of sandstone, surmounted by a handsome

balustrade, gave the place a most imposing appearance. The water was so deep that we were compelled to anchor close to the junks, which were made fast to the shore. A dense crowd came pouring out of the gate, and down to the water's edge, as the huge triton took up its position among the minnows, and commenced blowing off steam in a manner calculated to confirm the impression that we had arrived direct from the infernal regions.

It was almost impossible to step on shore out of the boats, so closely had the people packed themselves into the river itself. On entering the town, we were surprised at the universal cleanliness of the streets, and the superiority of the shops, generally, over any we had yet discovered at other towns on the river. The numerous junks moored before it gave evidence of a high degree of commercial activity: this general air of prosperity and opulence was the more striking, as it was quite unexpected, and contrasted so strongly with all that had previously come within the range of our observation. The surrounding country produces great quantities of cotton; as much as 800,000 taels worth of this article, unmanufactured, is transported annually to Chang-sha, the capital of Hoonan. Indigo is also largely grown in the neighbourhood; and we inspected the process of rolling the newly-dyed cotton with gigantic stone rollers, worked partly by the feet and partly by machinery. The raw cotton, of which I got some specimens, seemed short in the staple. Superior hemp is imported from Hing-

kwoh, a town not many miles distant; while coal is procured from a mine only five miles off. Neither tea nor silk were cultivated here, but a considerable trade is carried on in grain. I saw in the shops some grey Manchester calicoes and Dutch velveteens. The process of investigation in a Chinese city is never very agreeable; but here, although the crowd was respectful, it was so highly perfumed, and so pressing in its attentions, that we were glad to get down to our boats once more, and breathe fresh air.

The immunity which Hwang-shih-kang has enjoyed from rebel violence is probably due chiefly to the absence of any wall or fortification, which could render it a valuable position in a military point of view.

3*d*.—In consequence of the intricacy of the navigation, our progress to-day was slow. Lakes were visible on both sides, and pretty broken country to the south, with occasional bluffs, and distant ranges. The river still averages upwards of a mile in breadth. In the afternoon we passed Woo-chang-hsien, a walled town with two seven-storied pagodas, a lake at the back, some fine ranges beyond, two very picturesque gates, and a great crowd staring at us from the bank. The town itself seems in good preservation, probably because the rebels evacuated it, and made Hwang-chow their military position. A rock rising out of the stream here is called Peh-kwei, or White Tortoise Island. The name is derived from a fable, to the effect that a soldier was once pursued by his enemies to this island, and to escape them leaped into the river,

when one of the huge tortoises lying near the shore took him upon his spacious back and carried him safely to the opposite bank.

About two miles higher up is situated the district city of Hwang-chow. It boasts the finest pagoda on the river, which, in spite of rebel occupation, remains in a state of excellent preservation. An Imperialist army was encamped under the walls, and a fleet of war-junks moored to the shore. The appearance of this combined land and river force was most picturesque. The white tents and bright flags; the horses picketed in groups, and the men clustering into masses in rude parade; the gay junks, each with its special device, formed a striking scene. Here is a gorgeous barge bearing on its flag, "The Leader of the Hoonan Braves;" and here another, "The Commissary-General of the Flying Camps of Hoopeh."

The walls of Hwang-chow enclose the usual howling waste. The city was abandoned by the rebels about two years ago.

We ran our nose upon a sandbank a few miles above Hwang-chow, and occupied the whole of the remainder of the day in fruitless efforts to find a channel.

4th.—We spent almost the whole of to-day at anchor in one spot—the gunboats channel-hunting. The difficulties in the navigation are now so numerous, that we almost despair of forcing the old ship another hundred miles up the river.

It is, however, some satisfaction to feel that we have reached Hoopeh, one of the central provinces of the Empire. "This province," says the *Chinese Repository*, "enjoys so many advantages of temperature, climate, fertile soil, navigable rivers, and beautiful lake and mountain scenery, that it is called the granary of the Empire." Our own experience fully confirms the latter part of this description. Since entering the province, some lake or other had always been visible from the crosstrees.

The Liang-tze, which we saw yesterday, is connected with the Ax Lake by a conduit forming a communication across the bend of the Ta-kiang at this place. The population of Hoopeh is estimated at 27,000,000; its area is double that of England without Wales. The signification of the term Hoopeh is "North of the Lakes." Père Huc describes it as being in many respects inferior to Sz-chuen. The soil is somewhat sterile, though covered with numbers of lagoons and marshes, from which the Chinese, in spite of their patient industry, can extract but little utility; the villages in consequence present an appearance of misery and suffering. The vegetable productions are bread-stuffs, silk, cotton, tea, and timber; it possesses extensive mineral resources, and produces gold, silver, tin, iron, mica, copperas, crystal, marble, argillate, &c. Its manufactures are bamboo paper, wax-cloth, crystal and other ornaments, which are famed throughout the Empire.

Hoopeh is also celebrated as the province which

gave birth to Laoutz', a philosopher of scarcely less repute than Confucius. "He was born fifty-four years before Confucius, and is believed to have had white hair and eyebrows at his birth, and to have been carried in the womb eighty years, whence he was called Laoutz' or "The Old Boy," and afterwards Lan-kiun, or "The Venerable Prince." He was the founder of the sect of the Rationalists or Tau-kia, and is the author of *Tau-tih-king*, or a "Memoir on Reason and Virtue," which is the text-book of his disciples.

Late in the afternoon we discovered a narrow and intricate passage behind a low island covered with long grass. We scraped so close under the high river-bank that the groups of peasantry, collected upon it to see us pass, might almost have jumped upon our decks. I landed with Wade on the island in search of game, when he succeeded in bringing down a fine wild-goose, out of a flock which was sailing overhead.

5th.—We only had one serious difficulty to-day, and made good progress. The country did not seem so thickly inhabited or well peopled as the district through which we had just passed: in parts, the northern bank was well wooded and level, with occasional lakes; to the south it was more broken; but there were no hills of any elevation. The "White Tiger Hills," which are the most remarkable in form, jut out into the river, but are not above 500 feet above it. In summer large tracts of country, now pasture-land, must be under water. The weather is

getting sensibly colder. It hailed last night, and this morning I observed specks of sleet.

Though nearly 500 miles from the sea we saw porpoises again to-day, called by the Chinese "Cheang-choo-tsze." They use the oil as silk dye. Junks and rafts are more numerous than formerly, and our terrific aspect creates invariably so great a sensation as almost to stupefy the crews. Not only must our appearance, but our ignorance, astonish them. We bawl out for information about lakes, mountains, and cities, to them well known, but of the names of which our pilot is as ignorant as ourselves. He makes up for this, however, by the energy with which he shouts his queries upon all sorts of subjects to the passers-by. Thus he begins :—

"Hi, on the raft there—Ho, Father!" The only response is a vacant stare.

Pilot again, more energetically.—"Hi!—Ho!—Ah!—Great uncle!" This more remote term of relationship elicits not only a stare, but a prolonged "a-a-a-a," not unlike the bleating of an asthmatic sheep.

Pilot, getting slightly indignant, becomes even less affectionate, and puts his question.—"Much honoured relation, do you hear, what place is this?"

Answer from the much-honoured relation.—"Ah-ah-ah," in a different cadence from before.

Pilot, angrily.—"Venerable party, I ask you what place this is?"

Venerable party, roused at last, shouts, and points up the river. He says, "It's all right; go on."

Pilot, now thoroughly exasperated, suddenly substitutes abusive for polite epithets; he rolls these out with great volubility, working up the last syllable to a high key, and dwelling upon it long, with great vigour and bitterness of expression: thus—"Oh you old addle-pated, thick-skulled, noodle-oodle oodle-o-o-o-o-o, I did not ask you whether it was all right, but the name."

Answer.—"Oh-ah-oh, the name of the town—the name of the town—oh-ah-oh, the name of the town you want to know? The town's name is——"

Pilot.—"And what is the name of the lake?"

Answer.—"There is no lake."

Pilot.—"I tell you there is a lake."

Answer.—"A lake you said; oh-ah-oh, is there a lake; no-oh-no, there is no lake." And so on, till we steam ahead again in despair. The river is the big river or the old river, and the mountain has no name, and never had one. Occasionally, when we are at anchor, some of these boats approach us, to stare more closely at our huge bulk; then the pilot becomes friendly and communicative. "Come up," he says, "and see a little of the world." We never can gather from these visitors any idea of our distance from Han-kow. The nearer we approach it, the greater the number of "le" invariably becomes, which have still to be traversed.

6th.—The Dove was sent on yesterday, to reach

Han-kow if possible. We hoped to do the same, but our departure has been delayed by a dense fog. When this cleared off, we saw from the crosstrees a vast arable plain, extending in a northerly direction to a large lake, upon which we could distinguish through the haze the sails of distant junks. To the south the plain was intersected by a low irregular range, apparently densely populated; an extensive lake also bounded the prospect in this direction.

The well-cultivated and well-peopled aspect of the country leads us to hope that we are approaching a large town. Gradually the houses line the banks, and kitchen-gardens, neatly fenced, separate them from each other. Then we see a dense mass of houses, and a hill crowned with a wall, and the masts of many junks; among them the white funnel of the Dove, and we know that the goal is reached at last, and that the toils and anxieties of a month's river-navigation are crowned with success.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF HAN-KOW—ITS RESEMBLANCE TO NIJNI NOVGOROD—OUR FIRST LANDING—AN ORDERLY CROWD—PLAN OF HAN-KOW—VIEW OF WO-CHANG AND HAN-YANG—POPULATION OF THESE CITIES—MANUFACTURE OF BAMBOO CABLES—PRICE OF MANCHESTER COTTONS—INSECT-WAX—THE MODE OF ITS PRODUCTION—RECENT DEMOLITION OF HAN-KOW—ITS MIXED POPULATION—MANDARINIC DIPLOMACY—COMMERCIAL INVESTIGATIONS—DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING INFORMATION—A DIALOGUE—COMMERCE OF HAN-KOW—THE TEA-PRODUCING DISTRICTS—A VISIT TO HÄN-YANG—STATEMENTS OF PÈRE HUC.

THE general appearance of the celebrated and far-famed mercantile emporium of Han-kow, as seen from the crosstrees of the Furious, was eminently disappointing. We had heard so much of the congeries of cities that are situated at the junction of the Han and the Yang-tse—of their extent, population, and commercial activity—we had longed so eagerly to reach them—had doubted so frequently whether we should ever thus be gratified—that we had formed grander expectations, and anticipated a nobler reward after all our anxieties and exertions. Still it was pleasant, after having seen nothing but ruins and heaps of brickbats, as supplying the places

of populous cities, once more to look upon teeming streets and an animated river, even though on a smaller scale than we had been led to suppose.

In the situation of Han-kow, and the topographical features of the surrounding country, I was strongly reminded of Nijni Novgorod. Han-kow occupies the angle formed by the Han and Great River, which meet at right angles. On the opposite or right bank of the Han is a precipitous range of hills, crowned with the fortifications of the now ruined city of Han-yang. These correspond to the Kremlin of Nijni, while Han-kow answers to the fair. On the opposite side of the Yang-tse is the important provincial city of Wo-chang, which has no equivalent on the banks of the Volga. The shape of Han-kow is an acute-angled triangle, the base of which, resting on the Yang-tse, is a mile long, while it extends for about two miles and a half along the banks of the Han, dwindling away almost to a point. Being a purely commercial city, it is not surrounded by walls or any semblance of fortification.

The Han, which is the first important tributary that the Yang-tse receives (ascending the river), varies in breadth from a hundred to a hundred and fifty yards, and is a much less imposing stream than was to have been expected from its long course, and the amount of traffic which is carried on upon its waters. Numerous ferries supply the place of any bridge. For about half a mile from its point of junction with the parent stream, the

Han is as densely crowded with junks as it is possible to pack them; very few, however, remain moored in the Yang-tse. This noble river is three-quarters of a mile wide at this point; and immediately off the town we were anchored in thirteen fathoms of water, and this at a distance of nearly six hundred miles from the sea. Meantime, while we were engaged in making these observations, the crowd became denser, the river more alive with boats; the air resounded with the voices of thousands of persons gazing eagerly at us, and expressing their wonder in confused and audible murmurs. Presently boat-loads of minor officials were observed sculling about among the aquatic spectators, apparently to keep order. These crammed themselves close to the ship, under her bows, stern, and quarters, peering in at the port-holes, and feeling her sides, as though to see what she was made of.

We now determined to land, and thus still further to gratify their curiosity; accordingly, we steered our way with no little difficulty through a maze of boats of all sorts and sizes, and filled with all classes and conditions of sight-seers, to a landing-place from which a flight of steps led up into the town, but which was now so crowded with human beings, that it seemed a problem how we should ever succeed in forcing our way through them. We no sooner stepped ashore than a lane was somewhat precipitately opened, and the people fell back almost as if alarmed. We found the streets as

thronged as the steps, but everywhere the crowd made way respectfully; indeed, it was rather a curious illustration of the moral influence exercised by the presence of four foreign ships in the very heart of the Empire, that we should traverse the streets of a populous city, not only unhindered and unmolested, but obliged in a friendly voice to exclaim constantly, "Puh, pao! puh, pao!" "Don't be afraid! don't be afraid!"—a most condescending piece of advice for a handful of strangers to give to a million of people.

The streets themselves were superior to any I had seen in any other city of the Empire. They were well paved, and roofed over with mats as they are in Persian or Egyptian cities, but still broad enough to be bright and cheerful. The shops were well stocked, and upon a much grander and handsomer scale than those at Canton or any of the open ports. Foot-passengers, wheelbarrows, loaded either with merchandise or people, and gentlemen of substance in chairs, crowded the thoroughfares. We observed that one chair followed us pertinaciously, and discovered that it contained a petty mandarin, who had either assumed, or was instructed to perform, the office of spy. When we objected to his surveillance, he assured us that he followed us purely out of regard for our safety, and for the purpose of keeping the crowd in order. Indeed, he soon began to display an amount of vigour in the performance of this duty, which we by no means approved, getting out of his chair whenever we entered a shop, and dispersing the crowd which

naturally collected round the doorway, with violent blows of his whip. As this was a mode of procedure, calculated to make us unpopular with the people, who were only manifesting a most natural and harmless curiosity, we remonstrated, and ultimately succeeded in shaking off our officious attendant; but we had reason to suspect that his conduct was in accordance with instructions received from the supreme authority of the province. We were soon after confirmed in this view by the request which our attendant official, Wang, who had accompanied us from Shanghai, made the same day, that Lord Elgin would not press the point of entering the provincial city of Wo-chang, or of calling upon the Governor-General.

We observed proclamations posted up in various parts of the town, informing the people of the intended visit of foreigners to their city, but assuring them that their stay was to be a short one, and not for commercial purposes. Nevertheless, the commonest query among those of the crowd who were bold enough to address us was, "What have you got to sell, and when are you coming to trade?"

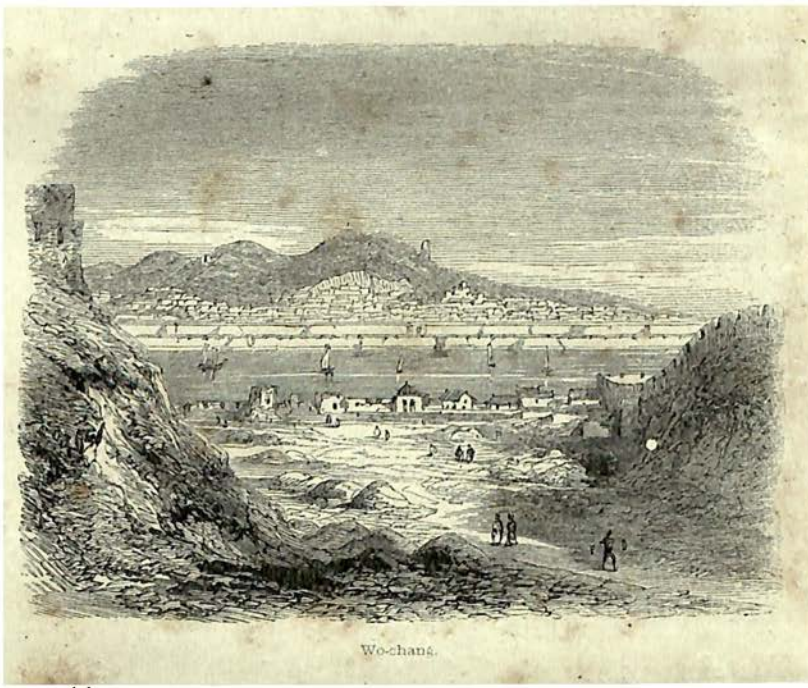
The plan of Han-kow is very simple. Two principal arteries intersect it in parallel lines; while across them run a number of curved streets about equidistant from each other. After we had taken a cursory view of the town and its shops—the latter we proposed to investigate more thoroughly—we crossed the Han, and proceeded to scramble up the hill on its opposite bank. The tower at its summit was probably about

three hundred feet above the plain, and afforded a magnificent and extensive prospect. The hill itself was called Ta-pieh, or "The Great Dividing Mount."

At our feet the mighty Yang-tse rolled its yellow tide seawards, above this point a well-navigated and useful stream, but henceforward to flow through a devastated country, and bear upon its bosom the wreck and debris of those populous cities whose active commerce once gave life and animation to its now deserted waters. We looked down upon the decks of our own ships, riding proudly at anchor where foreign ships had never lain before, towering above the black mass of boats that crowded round them; nor was it possible to help feeling a thrill of exultation, as we watched the British ensign fluttering for the first time in the very heart of the Empire.

Facing us as we gazed across the stream, and nobly situated on swelling hills, rose from the water's edge Wo-chang, the capital of Hoopeh, and worthy of being called the queen of Yang-tse. Its hills, terraced with houses and crowned with pagodas, and its double wall lining the margin of the river with towers, gateways, and bastions, all combine to give it an imposing and majestic appearance. It was not until we entered its streets that the delusion vanished. Now it was a charming feature in the view. Beneath us on our right, hemmed in by two steep ridges, along which ran its turreted walls, is the departmental city of Han-yang. We looked down upon its deserted streets, its roofless houses, crumbling walls, and grass-grown

courts. Never a city of any great extent, it has suffered severely from rebel occupation, and forms a melancholy but not unpicturesque feature in the view.



Wo-chang.

On the left, in strong contrast to this scene of desolation, the crowded mart of Han-kow lay spread upon the plain at our feet; while the Han, teeming with its boat population, was lost in the distance, its winding course marked by the sails of numerous junks. A setting sun shed a warm glow over the lakes which were dotted over the country to the northward, and beyond them swelling hills closed this magnificent and most interesting panorama.

The point at which we now stood enabled us to see at a glance the extent of the area occupied by the

three cities of Wo-chang, Han-yang, and Han-kow, and to form a very fair estimate of their present populations. Huc, who merely passed through the two latter cities, and does not seem to have had very good opportunities of judging, calculates the population at eight millions. With every possible allowance for the faculty which the Chinese possess of packing closely, I do not think that it was practicable to have compressed into the area beneath us a population considerably greater than that of the whole of Ireland. We thought that we made a very liberal calculation when we put the entire population then inhabiting these three cities at one million; but we saw them, doubtless, under a very great disadvantage; the area strewn with ruins was about as great as that inhabited; so that in Huc's time these cities probably contained more than twice their present number of inhabitants: perhaps their united populations may have equalled that of London, but certainly never exceeded it.

Meantime a number of Chinese had discovered the group of foreigners at the top of the hill, and were crowding up it; so we thought it time to descend from our exalted position, more especially as we could not help out our calculations by information derived from the by-standers; for when we asked what was the number of persons inhabiting the cities, they gave us the usual Chinese answer on such occasions, "Many myriads."

7th.—The petty mandarin, Wang, who had accom-

panied us from Shanghai, and had yesterday expressed the hope that Lord Elgin would not visit the Governor-General in Wo-chang, was this morning despatched to that city with a note to his Excellency, informing him of Lord Elgin's intention to visit him to-morrow. Some officers from some of the ships also went off on an exploratory expedition to Wo-chang. I accompanied Lord Elgin on a voyage of discovery to the left bank, with a view of making more minute investigations into the contents of the shops, and the resources of Han-kow generally.

We had been struck when on board the ship by a number of high stages like watch-towers, erected along the river margin. On closer inspection these proved to be bamboo-cable manufactories. The split bamboo is collected upon a stage raised thirty or forty feet from the ground. This stage is of very small dimensions—merely affording accommodation to a single man, who is sheltered by a mat roof. The process of plaiting the cable takes place here, and it is coiled on the ground below,—the object of the contrivance being apparently to enable one man unassisted to coil and dispose comfortably of so unwieldy an article as a six-inch bamboo cable. At first sight, the appearance of these stages, with a long rope depending from them, was most mysterious and puzzling.

It was Lord Elgin's habit, when in China, to lose no opportunity of entering into personal communication with the people; and upon this occasion we got upon intimate terms with sundry intelligent artisans

and shopkeepers. The first person we observed whose occupation arrested our attention was a man whose arms were a brilliant blue as far as his elbows, and who was engaged in spreading upon the grass cloths of the same hue. We found, upon a closer inspection, that these were Manchester cottons. He told us they cost him 700 cash a chang.* The process of dyeing them cost 200 cash a chang; so that the entire cost of Manchester cotton, dyed blue in China for clothing, was 900 cash a chang, or about ninepence halfpenny a yard. Cotton used for the same purpose, of Chinese manufacture, of one-third the width, was worth 200 cash a chang—making it, after estimating the difference in width, 100 cash cheaper than British.

The indigo, which was the dye used, is grown in large quantities in the immediate neighbourhood. It is also extensively cultivated in Kwei-chau. Some of the cotton was being dyed green. This is a cheaper dye than indigo, and prepared from two kinds of bark. We entered the house, and saw the boiling process going on. One species of bark is called Tung-leu, and is grown in Chang-teh; the other, Shwing-chin. The cloth is washed in a mixed infusion of these twice a-day,—in the case of native cotton, for five days, and in that of long cloths, for ten days.

We also inspected the manufacture of a species of native cotton velvet. The cotton cloth is stretched and scraped with a horse-hair brush into a sort of

*4 yards = one chang; 288 cash = one shilling.

long plush ; it is then prepared with a peculiar leaf, an infusion of which poured over it gives it a curly woollen appearance.

The most interesting subject of our investigations, however, was the Peh-lah or insect-wax, of which we saw large quantities exposed for sale in the tallow-chandlers' shops. It is usually sold in blocks shaped like cheeses, and when broken, presents a flaky, crystalline appearance, not unlike spermaceti. When we went into the tallow-chandler's back shop, or rather candle-manufactory, we discovered one of its principal uses. The vegetable tallow of which candles are usually made, melts with great facility; in order, therefore, to prevent them from running, they are coated with a thin crust of finest wax ; this is extremely hard, and slow to melt, so that it retains the vegetable tallow in a liquid state, and is a clean and economical ingredient.

While we were in vain endeavouring to extract some precise data from the shopkeeper as to the source of supply of this singular production, a man in the crowd volunteered the information. It was, he said, the article in which he traded. The province in which it was produced was Sz'chuen; but singular to state, although the peculiar tree necessary to the sustenance of the insect would thrive there, it was found necessary to keep up the supply of insects by the constant importation of eggs from beyond the western frontier of the province. He had constantly been engaged in these expeditions. He described the

insect as being about an inch in length, and of a pale grey colour. The tree on which, according to our authority, it feeds exclusively, is called the Peh-lah-shuh. One insect is considered to have performed his part creditably if he exudes one ounce of wax in the season. This lasts only during the summer months. The insect is not affected by rain or weather, but when the leaves fall it dies. The wax is then collected, and melted in a cloth, over boiling water. It is of the purest white. On the large cakes hanging in the grocers' and tallow-chandlers' shops at Han-kow, we often observed the inscription written, "It mocks at the frost, and rivals the snow." The price was forty dollars a picul, or about fifteenpence a pound.

We were gratified on observing, in some of the shops, well-known British stamps, proving that the manufactures of our own country were at last beginning to find their way into the Empire. We asked the price of some ladies' superfine habit cloth, and found it five taels and a-half a chang,* or about six shillings a yard.

It is worthy of remark that native-grown opium was freely exposed for sale in the streets.

The fur-shops of Han-kow were numerous and well-stocked. The winter supply had evidently just come in, and some of the most expensive and rare furs from the province of Shan-si and the Thibetian frontier were to be procured here, at the usual fabulous

*1200 to 1400 cash = one tael.

prices. Our searches for old china, bronzes, and curiosities, proved vain. Han-kow was apparently too practical a place to offer attractions to dilettanti; and there was a stir and movement in the streets which betokened great mercantile activity. We could scarcely credit the fact that only two years and four months ago this bustling city had been levelled to the ground. Many of the townspeople, whom we questioned on the subject, assured us that not a stone had been left standing upon another, so completely had the rebels demolished the shops and houses, after having rifled them of their contents.

No stronger proof could be afforded of the vitality of trade at this point, and of its importance as a commercial centre, than the marvellous resuscitation of Han-kow. In every direction houses were being built, and new shops opened. An additional stimulus was, doubtless, afforded by the stagnation of the past two years, the unavoidable result of rebel proximity. Now, however, those "troublesome pests" were removed to a greater distance, and the chances of their revisiting Han-kow were sufficiently remote to encourage the people to re-establish themselves, though a marked disinclination was always evinced to allude to the "long-haired men," as the rebels were invariably called. Whenever they were mentioned, the cautious Chinaman was always on his guard against saying anything which might be hereafter brought up against him, as an evidence of hostility to the revolutionary cause. It was remarkable that at Han-kow,

all the little shrines in the private houses and verandahs were empty. Generally, in a Chinese town, the Lares and Penates of the householder are in these recesses, and joss-sticks burn before small images. Now there was not one to be seen, in deference, doubtless, to the iconoclastic propensities of the "long-haired men." The only sacred edifice which we observed in process of restoration at Han-kow was the Temple of Longevity, in which the Emperor's birthday is celebrated.

Like great marts which partake in some measure of the nature of fairs, the population of Han-kow is both varied and fluctuating. At certain seasons of the year traders from Ili, Kobdo, and other parts of Thibet, visit Han-kow, their marked Tartar features and turbaned heads distinguishing them from the Chinese. In no other city of the Empire have I seen so great a variety of type of feature. There is, of course, the general character which distinguishes the Mongol in them all; but though flat noses and oblique eyes are universal, yet it is scarcely conceivable how many distinct varieties of flat noses and oblique eyes there may be. Then, besides this, the shades of complexion, though they are all of a copper tinge, are very different. Han-kow, being simply a mercantile emporium, comprises in its population a much larger proportion of males to females than is to be found in Chinese cities generally. This is easily accounted for by the fact of so many of its inhabitants being merely visitors.

We were unable to make any purchases to-day, as the officials, with a view of discouraging, as much as possible, our supposed trading propensities, had forbidden the people to take our money. To such an extent was this carried that all the dollars which had been expended for ships' stores, and which had been readily taken by the people before the order was issued, were brought on board by the authorities this afternoon, who wished to return them. Lord Elgin, however, steadily declined to accept anything without paying for it, and refused sheep, cattle, &c., which were pressed upon him, unless allowed to give their full value in return. It was not difficult to see through the shallow diplomacy of the mandarins, and to perceive that their object was to prevent, as much as possible, all intercourse with the people, who were only too anxious to be upon the most intimate terms with us.

We had a still stronger proof of this determination in the afternoon, when the party returned from Wo-chang after an ineffectual attempt to enter the city. They had been refused entrance by the guards at the gate, with some rudeness; and altogether treated in a manner somewhat at variance with the tone which the Commissioners at Shanghai had manifested during our intercourse, and which was at that time supposed to be the tone of the Government generally.

8*th*.—Although the authorities were by no means in that frame of mind to which it was desirable they

should be brought, the Governor-General scarcely ventured to refuse to see Lord Elgin. Wang therefore returned late last night with a message from the Governor-General, to the effect that he would be prepared to receive a visit from the British plenipotentiary; and this morning a special messenger arrived to make arrangements for the ceremony, which is to take place to-morrow at two o'clock. Meantime I went with Mr Lay on another tour of commercial investigation, but upon this occasion we confined ourselves to the waters of the Han.

The junks were moored side by side to each bank of the river, as closely as it was possible to pack them, leaving only a narrow fairway down the centre of the stream. You could walk for hundreds of yards from the deck of one to that of another, inspecting the cargo of each, and cross-examining her owner or captain, as you did so.

The construction of these junks varied according to the district to which they belonged. Many of them had descended the Yang-tse-Kiang, or some of its tributaries, for upwards of a thousand miles. Some were long narrow craft, pointed both at stem and stern; others were turned up in the bows like a Turkish slipper, or built like an old Dutch lugger with a swelling bosom. Many of them were handsomely fitted up with cabins, apparently for the accommodation of passengers as well as cargo; others were filthily dirty, and afforded shelter only to a greasy skipper, and still more greasy crew.

It is a melancholy admission to be obliged to make, that after all our trouble we did not succeed in obtaining any very reliable information. Had we been contented to believe what the first glib Chinaman chose to tell us, we might have returned well supplied with facts; but, unfortunately, the more we prosecuted our researches, the more difficult did it become to know what to believe, as we never succeeded in getting two people to agree upon any one point, however simple, and, one should suppose, unsusceptible of dispute. This did not arise from any desire to mislead; on the contrary, the people invariably manifested the utmost willingness to impart all the information in their power; they seemed highly gratified at the interest we took in the subject, and were evidently most anxious that we should be induced to come and trade with them. The great difficulty was to prevent them from all speaking at once, and induce them to give direct or intelligible answers to very plain questions.

For instance, it was hopeless to expect them to comprehend any inquiry which presupposed any premises whatever. You could not begin by asking where silk was grown. The introduction necessary to arrive at this result is the incontrovertible statement—"There is such a thing as silk."

Chinaman repeats eagerly.—"There is such a thing as silk, oh yes, ah! there is such a thing as silk."

"Silk grows in some provinces; in some it does not."

Chinaman repeats, thoughtfully.—"Yes, silk grows in some provinces; in some it does not."

By-standers, who have taken up the idea with greater rapidity, remark to one another.—"Ah! true, in some provinces silk does not grow."

"Does this province produce silk?"

"Yes."

"Does Sz'chuen produce silk?"

"No."

"Then do you carry silk to Sz'chuen?"

"No."

"What do you carry to Sz'chuen."

Chinaman repeats, puzzled.—"What do I carry to Sz'chuen?"

By-standers all repeat, vivaciously.—"What do you carry to Sz'chuen?"

Chinaman.—"Sometimes I carry silk to Sz'chuen, and sometimes I carry cotton."

"Does cotton grow in Sz'chuen?"

"Yes."

"And yet you carry cotton to Sz'chuen?"

"Oh! sometimes I bring cotton here from Sz'chuen."

By-standers, unanimously.—"Sometimes he brings cotton here from Sz'chuen."

And so on until one's patience is fairly exhausted, and one wonders wherein the indisputable intelligence of a Chinaman consists, and how it happens that, notwithstanding his utter inability to stand cross-examination upon the subject with which he is

most familiar, he excels every other nation in his instincts for developing the internal traffic of his vast and productive country.

Fortunately most of these junks had their cargoes on board, so we could judge for ourselves. Those laden with coal formed a large proportion of the fleet then at anchor in the river, which were principally from Hoonan. We shipped coal, some of a good and some of a very inferior quality, at £2, 9s. 3d. a ton. The best coal comes from a place called Ching-Leang. Hoonan also sends to Han-kow quantities of oil and charcoal; also hemp, beans, rice, and grain. In fact, Hoonan seemed to produce almost everything but cotton. This is the principal production of Hoopeh, and it forms the bulk of the cargoes to Hoonan and Sz'chuen. We arrived at very different conclusions with reference both to Hoonan and Hoopeh from the accounts given in the *Chinese Repository*. According to that very trustworthy authority, the external traffic of Hoonan is trifling, but our observation led us to believe that it formed the principal share of that at Han-kow; so, the description of Hoopeh in the *Repository* would give one to understand that it produced almost everything, whereas, except cotton and tea, we found it difficult to induce our junk friends to name a product; but that may have been from a want of imagination on their part.

Silk seems to be grown in the Lotien district, and some of a yellow description in Ma-ching, which also

produces gypsum and some indigo. Shang-teh produces indigo of a very superior description.

Sz'chuen is the great mineral-producing province. Tin, lead, and copper come from the capital, Ching-tu. The best sugar is also grown in Sz'chuen; and indigo, tobacco, and drugs find their way down the Yang-tse from the same province.

Tin and iron of a superior quality are found at Paouching.

The trade from Kwei-chau and Hoonân did not seem to be very extensive; the latter was described as a great grazing province, exporting cattle and hides. Kiang-si sends its quota of grain and sugar, but is more especially famous for its porcelain.

Last, but not least, we come to that most important product—Tea. The province of Hoopeh, in which we now were, is supposed to produce the finest description of congo. This is known in Canton and the ports as Oopak tea—Oopak being the Canton pronunciation of Hoopeh; but it does not seem necessarily to come from this province. These teas are also grown in the mountainous province of Kwei-chau, and in Hoonan. The best Oopak tea, however, was said to be grown in the district of Toong-shan, in the department of the Wo-chang.

The yellow teas, commonly stated to be exported to Russia from Hoopeh, appear to be grown in Nganhwui, the adjoining province.

A bitter tea, somewhat resembling our own strong

black tea, which we tasted afterwards, on the occasion of our visit to the Governor-General, and which was served immediately after dinner instead of coffee, as a digestive, is grown only at a place called Pu-urh, a department in the province of Yunan, on the Laos frontier and Meikon river. This tea is made up in large or small circular cakes, according to its quality. It is very expensive, and considered the most *recherché* thing in the way of tea which can be imbibed. I only once tasted it during my residence in China. There are two descriptions of Hoopeh tea, which are made up into bricks tightly pressed, and present somewhat the appearance, when cut transversely, of a cake of cavendish tobacco. I bought these at a little more than two shillings a brick. There can be no doubt, however, that the finest teas grown in China are those of Fuh-kien and Cheh-kiang, which already compose the principal share of the tea exported to this country.

I trust that the above very prosaic description of the trade of Han-kow will have been skipped by those of my readers who are not interested in our commerce with China. Those who are, must remember the uncertain sources from which it was derived, and not give it more credit than it deserves; the chief portion of it was obtained on board a very handsome junk, used as a grain store and agency. The heads of the firm happened to be on board at the period of our visit, and regaled us with tea and pipes. A considerable crowd collected before we had been there many minutes, and when, after a long mercantile discussion,

we rose to go away, and bade them adieu, hoping that when they next saw Europeans it would be to trade, the intimation was received with a noisy acclamation, as nearly approaching a cheer as could be expected of a Chinaman. I have inserted in the Appendix a list of prices procured by Captain Osborn at Han-kow, with which he has kindly furnished me.

We occupied the afternoon in exploring Han-kow to its further extremity, reaching, after a walk of about two miles, the open country. There we impressed our visit upon the memories of a noisy rabble of urchins who followed, by giving them a scramble for cash, under cover of which we effected our escape into a ferry-boat, and crossed the Han with a view of visiting the interior of the city of Han-yang. It is surrounded by a massive, well-built wall in good repair, and has evidently been a compact, handsome city of small dimensions—probably not above two miles in circumference. It was apparently an aristocratic, quiet place, chiefly inhabited by officials and their retainers, and containing all the departmental public buildings. The ruins of these were extensive. Fragments of lions and dragons, carved in granite or marble, lay strewn about the well-paved streets. Here and there, a handsome carved granite archway still spanned the principal thoroughfares; but they were more often prostrate and overgrown with weeds. Some were undergoing the process of restoration, and many of the authorities were inhabiting temporary abodes.

The scene of desolation was as complete here as elsewhere, after rebel occupation, and presented the most melancholy traces of its former grandeur. Of the street connecting Han-yang with Han-kow, and which must be upwards of two miles in length, scarcely a house was left standing. M. Huc says that he took an hour to traverse the long streets of Han-yang. This is probably the street to which he refers, as there is no street inside the walls of Han-yang upwards of half a mile long; but the Jesuit missionary is not always scrupulously accurate in his statements. He describes the Yang-tse-Kiang, as presenting the appearance of an arm of the sea, and dangerous to cross; though wherein the danger consists, we were at a loss to discover.

Again, apparently ignorant of the existence of any such river as the Han, M. Huc describes Han-kow as situated on a river falling into the Yang-tse almost under the walls of Wo-chang, and translates the Chinese name Han-kow, by "Bouche de Commerce," instead of "Bouche de Han," a rendering which, if it has not the merit of being a translation, is at least descriptive of the character of this great mercantile emporium.

CHAPTER XIX.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF STRANGERS—SNIPE-SHOOTING NEAR HAN-KOW —A VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—EXTERNAL ASPECT OF WO-CHANG—RECEPTION BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—A MAGNIFICENT REPAST—THE RETURN VISIT—A BRILLIANT SCENE—INSPECTION OF MIDSHIPMEN—THE BRAVE ARMY—THEIR SINGULAR UNIFORM —PANORAMIC VIEW OF WO-CHANG—REASONS FOR OUR RETURN —SUBSIDENCE OF THE RIVER—A "SQUEEZE"—CIVILITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION—THE LEE IN TROUBLE—LIME-QUARRIES—WILD SCENERY—DEEP WATER.

December 9.—Lord Elgin having still reason to be dissatisfied with the tone maintained by the officials, and the determination apparently evinced by them to prevent our making purchases of the most trifling character, sent Messrs Wade and Lay over to Wo-chang, in the Cruizer, with a rather tart message, postponing his visit to that high functionary.

The Cruizer consequently shifted her berth, and took up a position immediately facing the principal entrance to the city. This demonstration produced the desired effect. Messrs Wade and Lay were received with the utmost politeness, and the restrictions of which we complained were at once removed.

In the afternoon I had an opportunity of testing the

good dispositions of the peasantry towards foreigners. In company with Lieutenant Nott, of the Royal Marine Artillery, I walked to a distance of four or five miles from the ships, to a charming lake which we discovered lying embosomed among the hills in the distance. The rumour that barbarian ships were at Han-kow may have reached the little village lying in this secluded spot; but certainly no specimen of the mysterious race that navigated them had ever before appeared among its simple inhabitants. Children ran crying at the hideous apparition to the maternal wing, and doubtless to this day are frightened into being good by threats of our reappearance. Labourers suspended, for a longer interval than is usual with an industrious Chinaman, their avocations, to gaze and wonder at the two curiously-clad bipeds who seemed to prefer paddling along the margin of the lake up to their knees in water, to walking on the dry land. Fishermen in boats coasted near us, staring, criticising, and marvelling at our conduct, which, to persons innocent of the existence of such an amusement as snipe-shooting, seemed unaccountable; but when a bird fell dead into the water near them, their astonishment and delight were complete, and they willingly performed the office of retrievers without an idea of remuneration. Their good-nature and desire to be useful were unbounded; and we had no difficulty in getting ferried about the lake in any direction our fancy prompted.

We only succeeded in bagging four couple of snipe

and a hare, yet we were well repaid for the expedition by the beauty of the scenery and the civility of the people. Though it was late before we turned our steps homewards, and we were five miles from the ships, and quite alone among this race, popularly supposed to be so inveterately hostile to foreigners, so reassuring was the manner of the people that we were under no alarm, and plodded back in the dark as confidently as if we were coming home from the moors.

On our homeward voyage I was constantly out shooting, occasionally at a considerable distance from the river, and invariably found the same good-will prevailing on the part of the country people. Wherever it does not exist, the influence of the mandarins may always be distinctly traced.

10*th*.—We started on our visit to the Governor-General to-day at 1 P.M. Our party was a large one, consisting of thirty officers in uniform, besides the members of the mission. Forty marines and thirty blue-jackets formed the guard of honour. As the Lee got under weigh with the Ambassador on board, the heavy guns of the Furious and Cruizer thundered out such a salute as had never before resounded through the crowded streets of Han-kow, or shaken the frameworks of its wooden houses. A dense crowd which had collected on the water's edge, to see the party embark on board the Lee, incontinently tumbled over one another in their alarm and confusion, and haste to escape; nor was it till some moments had

elapsed that they became assured of the harmless character of our fire, and, laughing at their own fears, returned to their old position.

We were soon ferried across the river in the Lee, and found a number of chairs waiting to convey us through the streets, and a Chinese guard of honour drawn up at the landing-place. As we passed through the city gates, we observed another still stronger guard on duty there. We traversed Wo-chang for at least a mile and a half before we reached the yamun of the Governor-General. The main street was the handsomest I had yet seen in China. Probably the best streets in Soochow equal it; but those along which I passed on the occasion of my visit to that city were certainly inferior to the principal thoroughfare in Wo-chang. As our procession of chairs, marines, and blue-jackets filed along it, the crowds drawn up on each side were quiet and respectful, though intensely curious, gazing fixedly into each chair as it passed, as though determined that the lineaments of its occupant should be photographed upon their minds.

A hill terraced with houses intersects the city. The main street, however, tunnels under this, and the shops continue through the tunnel: indeed, the finest part of the street is at the entry to this interesting specimen of Chinese engineering. The shops here are better supplied, and there is a life and gaiety which the rest of the town does not present: indeed, it is slowly recovering from the

effects of prolonged rebel occupation. We crossed large areas of desolation on our way to the yamun, but we had better opportunities of judging of their extent upon a future occasion.

The yamun itself seems to have been spared by the insurgents, for it was a handsome edifice, in good repair. We were received, on entering, with the usual salutes and discordant music, and found the Governor-General standing at the door of the inner court, surrounded by a brilliant staff, waiting to receive Lord Elgin. I had never before seen such a splendid gathering of Chinese mandarins. Usually they do not think it worth while to receive barbarians in their official costume, and are scrupulously plain in their attire. Now, however, as the Governor-General took care to inform Lord Elgin, all the provincial, military, and civic authorities were present in full dress, their silks, satins, and furs of the handsomest material, and their breasts emblazoned with dragons and other devices, elaborately embroidered. The spacious audience-hall contained at one end the usual raised seat, upon which Lord Elgin and the Governor-General took their places. On each side a long row of chairs and little tea-tables afforded accommodation for a British officer and a Chinese mandarin alternately; though, beyond hobnobbing over hot tea, it was difficult to interchange civility, much less ideas.

Kwan, Governor-General of Hoopeh and Hoonan, is a Tartar. He stands high in Imperial favour,

having been very successful in his campaigns against the rebels, whom he has succeeded in expelling from his government. He professed great knowledge of foreigners, from the circumstance of his having, at a former period of his life, served in Canton as second in command of the Tartar garrison of that city. He had, therefore, had opportunities of seeing the barbarian occasionally at a distance.

After a short conversation upon general subjects, our host led the way to another apartment, in which a magnificent banquet was prepared upon a scale infinitely superior to any similar entertainment at which we had assisted in China. Four sets of tables, sufficient to accommodate the whole party, were loaded with all the delicacies of the season, tastefully arranged in pyramidal and globular structures. Nor was this merely the cold collation common to official visits. A great variety of hot dishes made their appearance in rapid succession, generally somewhat greasy in their nature, but occasionally very palatable to persons of a confiding temperament, and who did not care minutely to investigate the materials of which these various entrées were composed.

Sundry descriptions of hot wines were also pressed upon us, and afterwards the excellent Pu-urh tea, to which I have already alluded. It was not merely from a desire to soothe our "uncontrollable fierceness" that we were thus magnificently entertained. Our host was evidently a bon-vivant, and a man of hospitable tendencies. He delighted in piling delicacies on his own plate as well as the plates of his

neighbours, and took a manifest pride in the excellence of his cuisine, and completeness of his arrangements generally. We afterwards learned that the escort of seventy men had also been provided with refreshment. At last, after having done thorough justice to his feast, we bade adieu to our sybaritic entertainer, who accompanied Lord Elgin as usual to his chair, with many expressions of regret at being obliged to part with him, and assurances that, in the mean time, his only consolation would be in the prospect of returning the visit on the following day.

We were followed by a considerable crowd on our way back to the river-bank, and re-embarked under a Chinese salute, well satisfied with the day's experiences, our entire enjoyment being alloyed only by a vague feeling of uneasiness and apprehension at the possible consequences of our gastronomic indulgences, with which we were not unnaturally haunted for the succeeding twenty-four hours.

11*th*.—The bright, clear autumn days, in which we have been revelling, are most propitious to the interchange of official civilities, which involved so much open-air display. At eleven this morning, the Prefect of Wo-chang, and several other mandarins of rank, came on board to prepare the way for the great man. As the ceremony was to be invested with much pomp and circumstance, the news had spread far and wide, and the surface of the great river was literally alive with boats full of pleasure-parties and sight-seers, who turned out as freely as if our gunboats had been in Southampton water instead of the

Yang-tse-Kiang, and they had come down express to see the great naval review.

We could discern with our glasses the troops, both cavalry and infantry, lining the opposite bank, and make out the state junk. After the usual amount of suspense and watching, three puffs of smoke indicated the arrival of the Governor-General; then the unwieldy craft got under weigh, and the excitement became intense. Official boats, with flags fluttering from stem and stern, darted about, ordering, directing, and clearing the way; the hum of many voices filled the air; the river brink presented a dense mass of heads, whose owners were all squeezing, staring, and gabbling.

Meantime the huge state junk, covered with flags, and towed by six twenty-oared boats in line, all similarly decorated, was sweeping at a slow and dignified pace across the stream, surrounded by crowds of boats containing minor officials and spectators. As she approached, we added our own collection to the dragons and other Celestial devices which were already waving in the breeze. Suddenly the ships were dressed, and a suppressed "Ay, yah!" of astonishment was uttered by the crowd. Meantime mandarins of all ranks were arriving, and pouring in upon our deck; and the ship was surrounded by boats full of soldiers in red jackets, with spears, bows, matchlocks, and tridents, with other quaint and fantastic weapons.

Among these the executioners were the most conspicuous, with their conical bloodstained hats, truculent countenances, and plaited thongs for casti-

gation—the badges of their office. Then the great junk was made fast alongside, and all the ships manned yards, and belched out a noisy welcome to the exalted visitor as he stepped on board; and the flags waved, and the gongs beat, and the crowd murmured their satisfaction, while the bright sun shone gloriously upon a scene as exciting and novel as it was ever my good fortune to witness.

The Governor-General and suite were now taken over the ship, and looked for the first time upon the

The Governor-General of Hoo-kwang, with his Suite.

wonderful mechanism of a 400-horse-power steam-engine, without betraying any astonishment. When,

however, the 95-hundredweight pivot gun was worked for their edification, a gleam of dignified surprise might be detected by an acute observer lighting all their countenances. After a luncheon, which could scarcely equal in its proportions that of the Governor-General, but to which he did full justice, he was "posed" for his photograph upon the deck. The result, which may be seen in the annexed woodcut, charmed his Excellency, and he extorted the most solemn promises from Mr Jocelyn that he should be furnished with a supply of prints to be sent to him from Shanghai.

Our distinguished guest was particularly struck with the youthful warriors by whom he found himself surrounded. Midshipmen are always a source of astonishment to Chinamen, who are accustomed to treat boys with a kindness almost amounting to respect, and can in no degree comprehend the system which induces us to expose them at so early an age to the perils and dangers which are involved in the service of their country. Kwan requested a collection of these young gentlemen to be brought to him for inspection, and informed them, with an approving smile, that he discovered, in the expression of their countenances, a very high order of talent. At last the great man took his leave, protesting with a vehement and energetic fervour the satisfaction he had derived from the visit, and professing, in affectionate terms, sentiments of eternal respect and amity. Then, under the thunder of more salutes, he stepped

on board his gay barge. That ponderous and singular specimen of naval architecture once more swung slowly into the stream, and, like an elephant drawn by an army of rats, followed its fleet of many-oared boats to the opposite shore.

As we were desirous of a closer inspection of the brave troops drawn up in gallant array under the walls of Wo-chang, and had not yet sufficiently satisfied our curiosity with respect to that city, a party of us pulled across, and reached the opposite bank almost as soon as the Governor-General himself. We found from fifteen hundred to two thousand men drawn up in a line upon the river margin.

The cavalry were mounted on rough ponies, thirteen or fourteen hands high. A red jacket of coarse cloth, and a remarkable description of lappet, falling over the outside of the thigh over their trousers, composed the uniform. The men were all armed with matchlocks, swung behind their backs, and the officers had swords, and quivers full of arrows. The bows were not visible. But the costume of the infantry was far more grotesque and fantastic. Attached to each regiment were a score or more of men dressed in a complete flesh-coloured suit, fitting tightly to the skin, and which reached from the hood that covered their heads down to their ankles. Each man held over the middle of his person a circular straw shield, upon which hideous ogre faces were painted. At a distance, these men looked as though they were naked, with nothing on but

their shields. On approaching nearer, however, they assume rather the appearance of harlequins, for then we could discern that the yellow skin which covered them was ornamented with little black twirligigs like tadpoles. Altogether, their aspect was most absurd and ludicrous; and as they seemed to have no weapon of defence, they are probably expected to strike terror into an enemy by their personal appearance. Next in order to this squad of tom-fools was a small body of men in black, armed with matchlocks, the fuses wound round the stock of the gun. Then came the main body of the regiment in red, armed with spears, bows and arrows, and swords. Four or five such regiments, besides the cavalry, were drawn up to receive the Governor-General, and a portion of them accompanied him as a guard of honour through the town. We managed to avoid the procession, and, escaping into some by-streets, reached the ridge to which I have already alluded, as being tunnelled through by the principal street.

From the summit of this hill, which divides the city into two equal parts, a good panoramic view of it is obtained. The area of ground enclosed by the walls of Wo-chang is probably larger than that occupied by Canton; but not more than a third of this space is built upon and inhabited, so that the relative proportion of its population with that of the latter city is materially altered.

We estimated the population of Wo-chang at from three to four hundred thousand. The walls are dila-

pidated, in some parts out of repair, and mount no guns. Large tracts of ground are strewn with ruins, and the debris of houses destroyed by the rebels. Some idea of the deserted character of portions of the city may be formed from the fact that, while walking down the centre of it, we put up two brace of pheasants. So solitary was the spot that the crowd did not discover us for some time, and then only collected in small numbers. From the highest point we commanded a bird's-eye view of all the public buildings left standing. Of these the principal were the hall of examination, the yamun of the Governor-General Kwan, that of the Governor of the City, and a handsome pagoda. A body of troops was encamped in tents at our feet, and parade was actually going on.

Altogether the military display at Wo-chang was more complete and extensive than anything I had yet seen in China.

Beyond the walls the country was broken and undulating; numerous lakes lay glittering beneath the rays of the setting sun, whose ruddy disc, almost touching the level horizon of the plains in a westerly direction, warned us that we had not allowed ourselves more time than was necessary to regain the bank, and cross the wide river to our faithful ship among the junks at Han-kow.

12*th*.—We had now spent six days at Han-kow; but five weeks had elapsed since our departure from Shanghai, and we began to give our friends credit

for feeling some anxiety on our account. Knowing the fertility of the Chinese brain in inventing improbable stories, and the readiness of the British public to believe them, it became incumbent on us to commence, without unnecessary delay, our return journey. Nor was there any very valid excuse for pushing further up the river. Han-kow was the extreme point at which we were to be allowed a port by treaty, and, except for purposes of exploration, we had no public reason for prolonging our voyage.

Never before, in the annals of British naval enterprise, had one of her Majesty's frigates accomplished so many miles of river exploration. And it was with the utmost reluctance that we now exposed the stern, instead of the bows, of our good ship to the force of that current which she had so bravely breasted. We had at one time been sanguine enough to indulge the hope of reaching the Toong-ting Lake, the largest sheet of water in China, and from which we were scarce a hundred miles distant: this probably would be the extreme limit to which a ship drawing sixteen feet of water could ascend, under the most favourable circumstances; beyond that are the rapids of Kwei, as to the exact character of which obstruction we are not yet informed, but it is not impossible, from the vague accounts which have reached us, that river-steamers drawing little water, and with plenty of power, might ascend them.

During the whole period of our stay, the people had never ceased collecting opposite the ships and

staring at them; and, doubtless, many years hence, when there are steamers ploughing the waters of the Yang-tse as freely as they do now those of the Mississippi, old men will tell their wondering progeny, who are probably stokers, that they remember the day when foreign ships, then supposed to be under demoniacal influence, suddenly appeared for the first time among the now obsolete craft, formerly known as junks, at Han-kow, and, after remaining a week, as suddenly vanished; and how, for some time afterwards, until barbarians again reached Han-kow and built a magnificent city upon its river-banks, it was popularly supposed that the apparition had been supernatural.

We reached the "*Squeeze*," above Hwang-chow, in time to buoy it out for to-morrow, but found, to our dismay, that since we had last crossed it the water had fallen five feet, and was still subsiding rapidly. The information, therefore, which we received on our way up, that the water had already been at its lowest, was entirely false and erroneous.

13*th*.—The day was spent in looking in vain for a passage over a bar a little below Hwang-chow. Things begin to look serious; every moment of delay renders our chance of getting over the several bars ahead more remote. The Dove and Lee are indefatigable in their efforts to find a channel. Some of our party consoled themselves by landing on a sandbank in pursuit of wild-geese, and were fortunate enough to bag three.

14*th*.—Dove on shore, and our channel-hunters completely nonplussed. Gloomy spirits indulge in the most depressing speculations as to the future, and visions of wintering up the Yang-tse are somewhat forcibly presented to the imagination. By way of testing the resources of the neighbourhood in the event of such a contingency, parties of us landed, and shot and explored in all directions. We found an extensive plain stretching from the villages and cultivation which line the bank, to the blue distance where trees were faintly discernible.

This plain is a lake in summer, and we crossed to where some of its waters still remained. It is traversed by a mere muddy ditch, which is a tributary to an inconsiderable stream called the Paho, which enters the Yang-tse-Kiang at this point. The short green herbage affords grazing to numerous flocks of unapproachable wild-geese. Storks, cranes, herons, and all sorts of monster waterfowl, stalk about the grass, so shortly cropped that it would not afford shelter for a mouse, and loom in the distant haze like ostriches. Distorted pigs, and buffaloes ridden by boys, share the pasturage with these birds.

Many of these waterfowl were of a description entirely new to me. Besides wild-duck, were grebe of many varieties, more interesting to the ornithologist than to the sportsman. Teal and widgeon were abundant, and I had no difficulty in killing four brace; but, in the absence of a retriever, fishing them out of the water afterwards was a less agreeable pastime.

Fortunately I found the peasantry here, as elsewhere, delighted to be of use; and one man abandoned entirely his agricultural operations, and devoted himself to swimming in after the birds, or plunging vigorously into the tenacious mud, stripping each time to his work.

We were frequently invited to refresh ourselves, as we plodded through the fields, with the hot tea which the labourers always keep ready boiling, to comfort them during their mid-day toil;—a few charges of powder, or a dozen lucifer matches, were more highly appreciated than handfuls of cash: the matches especially were handed about, and treasured as miracles of pyrotechnic skill. In many instances the peasantry declined any pecuniary remuneration, and would only receive these curiosities at our hands.

Lord Elgin had in the mean time visited the town of Paho, and described it as a compact little place, substantially built of red sandstone. While I was engaged in ingratiating myself into the affections of the rural population, I suddenly observed the recall signal flying at the mast-head of the Furious, and reached her just in time to share in the excitement of charging a fourteen-feet bar.

The deepest channel that could be found gave us eighteen inches less water than we were drawing. However, as the only alternative was to remain where we were, Captain Osborn felt justified in putting the old ship at it; and it must be admitted that she took her fence in a most creditable style. At one moment

she canted over a good deal, and we were in doubt whether the bottom was soft enough and the current strong enough to carry her over. It was with no little satisfaction that we dropped anchor at last in deep water, on the right side of this formidable obstacle.

15*th*.—Our hopes of last night have proved as false and shifting as the bed of this most treacherous river. No sooner had we congratulated ourselves upon the success of our late achievement than the Lee was brought up in ten fathoms upon a pinnacle of rock, upon which she began gracefully pirouetting, as though in mockery of our despair. While her zealous commander, Lieutenant Jones, was engaged in laying out hawsers and stream-cables, and backing astern, and going ahead, and rolling and jumping, and ultimately lightening her, we, who were now familiar with every process to be resorted to with a gunboat in difficulties, again took advantage of the delay, to land and explore some interesting quarries we had observed on our voyage up.

A precipitous range of limestone cliffs, from 1500 to 2000 feet in height, overhung the river at this point; at its base the village of Shih-wa-yaou, inhabited principally by quarrymen, was picturesquely situated, while its rugged sides were deeply scored and undermined by the long-prosecuted labour of men. The limestone is hewn out of the hill-side with pickaxe and cold chisel—the process of blasting being apparently unknown. The kilns were

situated at the base of the hill. The fuel used was coal, principally procured from the neighbourhood of Hing-kwoh, its price at this place being 18s. a ton. The coal is mixed in the furnaces with red clay. This clay, after it is burnt, is used for building purposes, and is placed together with unburnt brick in thick layers of lime. All the houses of which the town is composed are constructed in this manner. I did not understand the object of mixing the clay with the coal in the first instance. As scoriæ, it seemed a convenient building-material.

The quick-lime is stacked in huge wicker frames, thirty or forty feet in height, thatched at the roof; so that they present the appearance of enormous baskets turned topsy-turvy, the shape being that of an inverted truncated cone. The quick-lime is sold at the rate of 18s. a ton, while the slack-lime is used as manure.

It appeared that the quarries were free to all comers, any man being entitled to purchase the privilege of working them by the payment of a rent of 1000 cash, or about four shillings, for six months, to a company who farm the quarries from the Government.

We were unable to discover the total amount paid by this company to the Government, nor could we obtain any accurate information as to the quantity of lime annually produced. The atrocious dialect in which our informants spoke, rendered the task of acquiring any precise knowledge of the subject more than usually difficult. One piece of intelligence they gave us, how-

ever, which was by no means encouraging, and this was, that the river was still likely to fall some feet, as the rock on which the Lee was now perched was distinctly visible at low water.

We ascended the hill to an elevation of 700 or 800 feet above the river, and revelled in the prospect which was spread out before us. The flourishing town of Hwang-shih-kang, presenting a favourable contrast to the demolished cities in its neighbourhood, lay basking in the sun a few miles distant—broad blue lakes and grassy plains extended northwards, to a purple range in the dim distance; while behind us were wooded valleys, and wild rugged hills, with spurs jutting into the great river, and rising in abrupt wild crags from its yellow waters. We descended into a valley where some excavations into the hill-side, with blackened edges, gave promise of coal. None of the pits into which we entered were deep. The people said that they had not been worked for fifty years, but that, previous to that period, coal had been extracted from them.

We were cheered, on our return to the ship, to find that the Lee had been rescued from her perilous position, though not without injury to her bottom; still, we had every reason to congratulate ourselves that the rock had been discovered by her, instead of by the Furious. With her greater draught of water, and superior momentum, that excellent old tub, had she struck it, would in all probability have prema-

turely terminated her existence in the cause of diplomatic exploration.

Projecting into the river a few miles below us is the remarkable bluff of Ke-tow, or the Cock's Head. The Dove has just returned from sounding beneath this stupendous rock, and reports thirty-three fathoms of water.

CHAPTER XX.

EXPLORATION OF A LAKE—AN EDUCATED PEASANT—CHARGING THE BAR—INTRICATE NAVIGATION—GOOD SPORT—WE ABANDON THE FURIOUS—CHRISTMAS DAY—CLOSE STOWAGE IN THE LEE—APPROACH NGAN-KING—MR WADE'S VISIT TO THE REBELS—HIS REPORT OF IT—ARRIVAL AT WOO-HOO—A REBEL COMMUNICATION—WE LAND AT NANKIN—A VISIT TO A REBEL CHIEF—REPORT OF THE INTERVIEW—OUR INTERVIEW WITH LE—THE REAL STATE OF THE CASE—MORALS OF THE REBELS—STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON—THE REBEL THEOLOGY.

December 16.—Our day's voyage led us through the gorge of Pwan, undoubtedly the finest piece of scenery on the river. A small river enters the Yang-tse-Kiang from the south, dividing Hoopeh from Kiang-si. At a place called Toong-sha, on this river, the finest tea of Hoopeh is said to be produced. Coal and cotton are two most important productions of this district.

The downward voyage involved many more difficulties of navigation that we had experienced on our way up. We had then grounded frequently; now there was five feet less water, and a strong tide sweeping us down on unknown dangers. The incidents of a voyage down the Volga were forcibly

recalled to my mind, but the "pericartes" (or sand-banks) of that noble stream were nothing to the shoals and rocks of the Yang-tse.

17*th*.—The gunboats have been employed all day looking for a passage over the bar at the Red Bluffs —a serious obstacle on our way up, and now apparently a hopeless one. We can scarcely regret these constant delays except for the sake of the ship's bottom, as they afford us admirable opportunities of becoming acquainted with the rural population, and the general features of the country.

After a walk of between two and three miles from the ship across the plain, we reached an extensive lake, the shores of which rose in swelling undulations from its glassy surface. Wooded promontories projected half-way across, forming deep bays, where cottages were clustered, and boats were moored; and cotton-fields terraced the hill-sides.

Waterfowl of many varieties paddled and fluttered upon the margin of this vast sheet of water, for we could not see its whole extent from any one point; and a small river, meandering through the plain, watered the meadows where flocks and herds were grazing. Sometimes the great river itself overflows this rich expanse. We were informed that this catastrophe had not occurred since 1849, when immense damage had been done, and miles of cultivated land were overlaid with five or six feet of sand. We observed many barren spots, where pits had been dug down to the rich loam that had been thus buried.

Over one of the cottages in a small village Lord Elgin observed a tablet, which, on being interpreted, was found to be a notice to the effect that one of the members of the family then inhabiting it had taken a high scholastic degree, and, though the son of a peasant, had achieved an important grade of mandarinic dignity. The brother was the present occupant of the humble abode, also a man of literary tastes and tendencies; and though only the proprietor of three acres of land, he had paid a hundred and eight taels for one degree, but had unfortunately been plucked at all his succeeding attempts, so that he was reduced to the humiliating alternative of being obliged to wait until he should attain the age of sixty, when he would be entitled to an *ad eundem*. In the back of the cottage was a curiously constructed press filled with cotton seed; this was subjected to the blows of a huge beam, swung like a catapult; and the oil thus extracted, we were informed, was used for culinary purposes.

In whatever direction the different exploring parties wandered, they all met with the same uniform civility from the country people, into whose cottages we never hesitated to enter. This day was memorable to us as the anniversary of our first embarkation on board the Furious. A year's residence in that ship had sufficed to attach us to our floating home, though we already began to suspect that a tender and somewhat abrupt parting was in prospect.

18*th*.—The only incident of the day was the deter-

mination at which Captain Osborn arrived, of charging the bar to-morrow.

19*th*.—The Cruizer, drawing a few inches less than fourteen feet, crossed without touching. We, drawing eighteen inches more, knew what to expect, and went at it full speed. It was a pleasure to see the gallant way in which the old ship was handled in this cross country work, and how splendidly she behaved; how beautifully she was kept together as she approached her fences, how obedient to the slightest touch of the reins. The captain on one paddle-box, the master on the other, four men at the wheel, hands by the jib-halliards and spanker out-haul, men by bow and stern anchors, engineers alert in the engine-room; then, with a swinging tide, "full speed ahead!" we rush at the second cutter anchored on one bank to starboard, in a manner calculated to lead the young gentleman in the boat to suppose that we are bent on his destruction; then, shaving him by a miracle, steer clear of a buoy on the port side by an eighth of an inch, then run out the spanker and haul down the jib in the twinkling of an eye. It is of no use: the ship is perfectly in hand, we keep the Channel to a nicety, but unhappily it surpasses even the capabilities of the Furious to float in fourteen feet of water when she is drawing fifteen. There is a scrape and a lurch; the paddles revolve helplessly; the order, "Stop her!" is reluctantly given, and the next process of hawsers, stream-cables, and anchors, in all sorts of directions, is vigorously entered upon. By dint of

dexterously bringing the ship broadside on to the current, she was converted into a species of dredging-machine, and, during upwards of twelve hours, we dragged steadily through the mud, shifting our anchors whenever our altered position rendered this operation necessary.

19*th*.—At four o'clock this morning, when we were all profoundly indifferent as to our possible fate, the good ship had been forced by the current through the mud, and was anchored immediately beyond the bar. When day broke, we found our position scarcely improved; we were moored with our nose up stream, in a channel so narrow that it seemed impossible to turn, and equally difficult to find our way, stern first, along the tortuous channel ahead. The manœuvre was most cleverly effected at last, by running the ship's stern actually upon the shore, so as seriously to imperil the toes of some Chinamen standing staring at the water's edge; then the current and the jibs together took her bows round, and we once more found ourselves triumphantly sweeping down the turbid waters of the great river.

As we passed Loong-ping we observed the tents of an Imperialist force, a number of man-of-war junks, and some troops apparently on the march. We augured from this that the rebels were in close proximity.

We were met just before dark by the Dove, bringing us the painful intelligence that the deepest water to be found, on a bar ahead, was eleven feet. This, if true, was absolute annihilation to all idea of reach-

ing the sea, in the Furious. However, we still hoped for the best, and anchored for the night a little below the city of Kew-kiang.

20th and 21st.—While the Lee and Dove are away channel-hunting, we, as usual, are engaged in a less important but more amusing sport. We rambled for miles over the charming country which intervenes between the river and the Poyang Lake. We explored in all directions the hills wooded with stunted oak and pine, cultivated with cotton, flax, and corn, of different varieties, inhabited by a simple population, whose snug houses nestle in the recesses of secluded valleys: these, not being subject to inundation, are more substantially built than those in the plains. Charming lakes are embosomed among the hills, and that most extensive and celebrated of all, the Poyang, lays away to the far south, like an ocean with an horizon of silver. We bag numerous pheasants, magnificent birds with gorgeous plumage, in these woods, wild-duck and snipe on the borders of the lakes; and one of our party was fortunate enough to bring home a fine roe-deer as the result of his day's sport.

22d.—We made a good bag to-day, but it was not enough to console us for the melancholy intelligence we received on our return to the ships, of the non-existence of any channel, and the still more melancholy determination that had been arrived at, in consequence, of deserting the Furious and Cruizer, and proceeding to Shanghai in the Dove and Lee.

23*d*.—This day was spent in condoling with our shipmates of the last year on the gloomy prospect in store for them, of a winter in the heart of China, for there seemed no hope of a rise in the river before spring. It was a day of sighs and lamentation, bustle and confusion—the rapid transfer of the accumulated effects of a year to the limited capacities of a gunboat—the abandonment of much in despair—the packing, condensing, and the breakage and ejaculations incidental thereto; lastly, the final meeting of a spasmodically jovial character, protracted until a late hour of the evening, when pathetic songs, extemporised for the occasion, were sung, and the memories of scenes of interest and adventure were recalled for the last time.

We all turned in with heavy hearts for the last night, as we supposed, on board the Furious.

24*th*.—The sky was weeping in unison with our feelings this morning. It seemed almost shabby to desert Captain Osborn after his unwearied exertions and splendid achievements, and to abandon our old home, with all its kind and friendly occupants; but the necessity was inevitable; so we resigned ourselves to the inexorable decrees of fate, and made the Lee as comfortable as her accommodation would permit. Then, when all was ready, Lord Elgin addressed Captain Osborn, the officers and ship's company of the Furious, in a few stirring words, expressive of the regret he felt on being now compelled to leave them; and we parted with many good wishes from our

naval companions, with every one of whom, during our long residence on board, we had been upon terms of the utmost intimacy and good-fellowship. Adverting to this incident in his despatch to the Secretary of State, Lord Elgin says: "On personal grounds, I left the Furious with great regret. For upwards of a year I had had my home on board of her, during the whole of which period I never once heard that it was difficult for the Furious to go anywhere or to do anything, that the interests of the public service rendered it in my judgment desirable to attempt."* Then came the final salute, and then we cheered each other as long as we could respectively be heard, to the intense astonishment of a body of Imperial troops, who were apparently occupied in "matchlock drill" on the north bank of the river.

25th.—Our Christmas-day was of the most lugubrious and doleful description. Notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts of our most attentive host, Lieutenant (now Commander) Jones, it was impossible to be very lively. A storm of sleet and snow swept over the exposed deck of our tiny craft, and reduced us to the condition of amphibious animals whenever we emerged from the cabin. Unfortunately, the alternative of remaining there was scarcely to be preferred. It is most probable that no one of my readers, except those who composed the party on that occasion, knows what it is to form one of twelve first-class passengers in a gunboat's cabin. Mr Jones, to

* *Blue-Book*, p. 446.

whom the problem first presented itself, of how to stow away this invasion of barbarians, made an elaborate diagram of his guests as he intended they should appear in bed. Each man was allowed an inch less than his height, and the smallest of the party was put upon a book-shelf, and formed an admirable substitute for the light reading which it usually contained. Two men were in cots swung over the only table; two more occupied the said only table; and two more, stretched underneath, used the same article of furniture as a four-poster. When we were not all asleep, some of us were washing and dressing, and the remainder waiting in the rain on deck for their turn. When all the toilets had been performed, the meals were begun; and when the meals were over, the fumes of cavendish pervaded the atmosphere until it was bed-time, and we all fitted into one another again like herrings in a barrel.

By the time eight days and nights had been thus profitably and sociably employed, we could really appreciate the merits of a description of craft which are a credit to the British navy. "As I think," says Lord Elgin, in the despatch above alluded to, "that these useful vessels (gunboats) are not always sufficiently appreciated, I would beg leave to call your Lordships' attention to the fact, that the Lee, with the aid of a junk, which she towed part of the way, and eventually discarded, conveyed safely the whole Mission, servants included, from Kew-kiang to Shanghai, a distance of some 450 miles, through an intricate

navigation, and a country equivocally disposed towards us. It rained incessantly, and we were rather closely packed; but the obliging attentions of Lieutenant Jones enabled us to bear with these trifling inconveniences."* Poor little Lee! bravely did she do her part wherever there was work to be done; nor did she in her last hour disgrace the flag that still remained flying at her mast-head. After riding out a typhoon on the coast of Japan, running the gauntlet of the batteries at Nankin, and escaping the dangers of the Yang-tse-Kiang, the Lee left her bones at last on the mud-banks of the Peiho, where, riddled and shattered by shot, and with seventeen out of her small crew killed and wounded on her deck, she sank beneath the feet of her gallant commander.

We anchored for the night within sight of the batteries of Ngan-king.

26*th*.—I can best describe the proceedings of the earlier part of this day by quoting from the Blue-Book a few lines from Lord Elgin's despatch and Mr Wade's report.

"The course," says His Excellency, "to be taken in passing Ngan-king was a matter which required consideration, as I have already mentioned. We were fired at when we reached it on our way up; and the nature of the channel compelled us, on our return, to steer so immediately under the city walls that our decks could easily have been swept from them by gingalls. When attacked in passing it pre-

* *Blue-Book*, p. 446.

viously, the gunboats were accompanied by two large vessels. They were alone and unsupported when we arrived before it on our route downwards. It was, moreover, important to insure a safe passage, not only for ourselves, but for such other vessels as might be sent up from time to time to communicate with the Furious and Cruizer.

"In order to attain these objects, I thought it necessary to take a pretty high tone with the rebel authorities.

"Mr Wade was accordingly sent on shore at an early hour on the 26th December to deliver a message, the nature and satisfactory result of which are described in his report. To menace with capture by two small gunboats a great city, walled and garrisoned, might have been bad taste elsewhere, but in China it was the proper thing to do."

The following is Mr Wade's report of the result of his mission to the rebels at Ngan-king :—

"On the evening of the 26th December, as the gunboats approached Ngan-king, by desire of his Excellency the Earl of Elgin, I proceeded in the Dove to communicate with the insurgent garrison who had fired upon our squadron on its way up. Night set in very suddenly, and running on in the darkness, we found ourselves but a few hundred yards from the walls. It seemed to us that we were seen. Lights were visible here and there along the walls, and junks appeared to be moving across the

channel ahead of us. Having had no opportunity of testing the disposition of the garrison since we exchanged shots with them on the 26th of November, I did not deem it advisable to discharge my mission without being able to see my way, and accordingly returned to the Lee. On the following morning, about eight o'clock, Lieutenant Bullock of the Actæon called for me. It was raining heavily, and red umbrellas multiplied along the shore as the boat approached the city. The bearers were dressed in the gaudy blue and red which give the rebel forces a picturesque appearance. A large red flag was waved, probably to direct our course, which, however, lay towards the point it indicated—namely, the upper or south-western angle of the walled position. In advance of this a rude chevaux-de-frise of some yards' width protected the slope; and the inner batteries, which are of a yellow stone, apparently easy to work, were finished with some neatness. Three or four of the crowd detached themselves to receive us. One, almost a boy, carried a large red flag on the usual spear-staff; but, with this exception, I saw no sign of arms in the hands of any one; and, except some wretched-looking guns in the embrasures, nothing of the character of hostile preparation. Being informed by one of these people that the chiefs were all Cantonese, I desired to speak with one, and a young man came forward from the mass assembled under a gate through which the path led from the point off which the boat was lying. He was, I found, a native of

Kwang-si, but speaking very good Cantonese. He afterwards stated himself to be the third in authority. I told him I was directed to inquire why the garrison had, without any provocation, fired on her Majesty's ships bound up the river. The chief said it was a mistake due to the ignorance of some of the provincials in their garrison, not Canton or Kwang-si men. The latter were unaware of the circumstance until the ships were some way past the city. They then recognised the English flag ("Ta Ying Ki"). The thing would never happen again. I recommended him to be careful. We had no wish to begin a quarrel with any who did not interfere with us, and I had purposely been sent because it was the British Minister's desire not to take life without occasion; but that our vessels would be going up and down, perhaps next month, perhaps the month after, and although we had no desire to side with either party in the civil war now waging, if any one attacked us we should resent it as we had done at Nankin, where the garrison had fired on us as we were passing, and we had, in consequence, destroyed their forts.

"'Oh, yes,' said the chief, 'we have heard of what happened at Nankin;' and then repeated his excuses, in even more apologetic phrase than before, for the mistake of his own people. He said they would send a present of oxen and other provisions to our great man. This I of course declined. He also invited me, as had one or two of the others, to land, and pay the principal chief, a Cantonese, a visit. This I also

declined, saying that I was sent to deliver the message which I had given, and which I now once more repeated, adding that they no doubt knew how simple a matter it would be for us to sweep them away utterly, were we provoked to do it. To this he assented, with the same evidence of conviction he had given when I mentioned Nankin. As I pushed off, he used the common Cantonese salutation, 'Go well!' 'Good luck!' &c.

"The crowd, generally, seemed to me in better case than the Woohoo rebels, more healthy-looking, and better dressed. One of them, who was much the reverse, however, had pushed himself forward, and addressed me in Cantonese English. He volunteered the information that he came from Whampoa, and bore other marks, besides his acquaintance with our language, of subjection to our influences. He looked, what I have no doubt he was, an opium-smoking coolie. The majority seemed to me to hold back, and but a small number came to the boat's side." *

Passing the rebel batteries unmolested, we made a long day's run, and anchored for the night at Toongling.

27*th*.—We just succeeded in reaching the Retribution at Woohoo, before the light failed us. Captain Barker kindly placed his accommodation at the disposal of the Mission; but as we were quite unconscious of feeling crowded, and enjoyed each other's

* *Blue-Book*, p. 448.

animal heat in the cold weather, we remained in possession of the cabin of the Lee.

Captain Barker had, since his arrival at Woohoo, received an apologetic note relative to the affair which had occurred near Tai-ping, on our way up. It was probably intended for Lord Elgin, and ran as follows: "Some time since, when your Excellency honoured our humble place with a visit, certain ignorant people in our central station (or barrier) fired upon you by mistake, on which our Heavenly King, Hung-siu-tsuen, decapitated all these ignorant scoundrels. Your ships being still in movement, Hung-siu-tsuen could not catch them, to make his apologies, and therefore sent instructions to us, your younger brethren, to transmit his decree; but as your honoured vessels continued on their way, we failed to overtake them; and as there were demon vessels (Imperialist) also barring the way, we confined ourselves for the time to making a report to the Heavenly King, and waited here for the return of your honoured vessel, to pay our respects to you in person, and to receive from your own mouth your commands, on which we will make our report to the Heavenly King. We accordingly send a person in advance to welcome your Excellency."

28*th*.—This day was a somewhat anxious one, as we were uncertain whether the Retribution would clear the bar below Tai-ping; fortunately she went over, with one inch to spare.

29*th*.—Reached Nankin about mid-day. The ex-

tremely apologetic tone of the communication above quoted, seemed to Lord Elgin to open the door to further intercourse with the rebels at Nankin. He therefore sent Messrs Wade, Lay, Wylie, and myself on shore, to pay a visit to the authorities, and pick up information.

We landed on the south bank, at one of the forts which had been most pertinacious in its fire on our way up. All was silent now, and we felt some slight hesitation in stepping on shore, with such slender knowledge of the dispositions of the brave garrison towards us. Presently a few ragged soldiers emerged from a gateway, as little prepossessed by our looks as we were by theirs. However, our object was to reach the city, and we now found that the nearest part of the suburb was at least a mile distant. Thither we determined on proceeding, and traversed on foot a muddy plain under a pitiless snow-storm. A boy, whom we pressed into service as a guide, led us through some narrow lanes to an official residence of inferior description, where the officer in command of the troops of this division had his headquarters. As our last communication with this gentleman had been in the shape of a cannon-ball, and no formal interchange of amicable sentiments had passed since, we felt a little uncertain as to the view he would take of this unceremonious visit on the part of four of his late enemies. We soon discovered that his intention was to detain us by polite speeches, and send for instructions. As this did not suit our views, and we

found four very nice ponies tethered in his court-yard, belonging to some of his staff, we decided on appropriating them, and pursuing our way into the city. Finding all remonstrances useless as we speedily untied and mounted them, the general—for such we found to be his rank—furnished us with a guide, and soon after a courier passed us at full speed, doubtless conveying to the authorities within the walls the intelligence of our approach.

We skirted the city walls for upwards of six miles before we found the gate at which we were intended to enter; on our way we passed the spot on which stood formerly the Porcelain Tower, but not a fragment is left to mark the site of this once celebrated monument.

Entering the city through a massive gateway furnished with a portcullis, we traversed for upwards of a mile its deserted streets, before we reached the residence of one of the rebel chiefs, named Le. This dignitary met us at the door, and conducted us to his audience-chamber. Here donning an elaborately embroidered head-dress, which was a combination of a bishop's mitre and a fool's-cap, he seated himself in his chair of state, and solemnly awaited our statement. This high functionary was dressed in a somewhat similar costume to his colleague at Woohoo; a robe of yellow reached from his neck to his heels. The only ornamental portions of his dress were his shoes and his cap: the former were of a most brilliant pattern, the latter was covered with dragons,

and, Mr Wylie alleged, was an imitation of the cap of office worn during the Ming dynasty.

As the conversation was carried on between Le and Mr Wade, I will give this gentleman's report of what passed in his own words: "We stated the object of our visit, which was to inform the garrison that we had received the explanation forwarded to Woohoo of the mistake they had made in firing upon her Majesty's ships; and that as we had ships now up the river, others would be probably going and returning, interference with which would oblige us to resent it as before. Le was apologetic, but without servility. He seemed more anxious to take us on the religious side, beginning again and again that we were brothers of one family as Christians; but this in a constrained way, without impressiveness or enthusiasm. He said that Hung-siu-tsuen was still Taiping-wang, and had not been, as we had understood, succeeded by his son.

"We asked for the Eastern King who, it was long since reported, had been slain in a fray. This was an embarrassing question; but, after a moment's hesitation, he replied that Yang was in heaven; and to a further question, that he was succeeded in his honours and functions by his son. The number of his own force he put at several hundreds of thousands. He himself was Governor-General of Kiang-nan, and, as we afterwards heard, Chief Executive Authority in Nankin. He called himself an officer or noble of the third degree, and wore on his high

cap the badge, Yih-tien-fuh. The last character appears to mark his degree of nobility, though it properly means happiness or blessings. The two first mean to advantage heaven. We asked for any new books he might have, but the few he could produce were almost all the same with those brought down from Nankin in 1853 by Sir George Bonham. In one, a calendar for the coming year, Yang still figures as the Eastern King. Le promised us more books if we would stay the night; we could then visit the Court of the Heavenly Kingdom. We had already requested permission to do this, but Le declared that, unless bidden thither, he could not present himself. One of his attendants, an intelligent-looking bonze-like personage, appeared rather amused at our eagerness about the books. He and the rest of the Chinese present, who were not very numerous, crowded in with as little restraint as at Woohoo, and sat where they pleased.

"We asked to see their place of worship; but though one of them at first seemed to say that there was one at no great distance, Le interfered to observe, that the brethren celebrated their worship every day in their own houses, and assembled on the Sabbath at the Yu-tai (Jewish?) Temple in the King's Court. This led to some inquiry regarding their days in the week, but we failed to ascertain whether they keep their Sabbath on the first or the seventh day, inasmuch as they certainly were at issue as to the place of the Wednesday we were then passing with them.

So much of the day had been consumed by our long ride, that we were unable to stay more than a quarter of an hour with Le. Before our departure we again referred to the question of our ships. He begged that, if we were coming by, we would let the garrison know, in which case there would be no chance of collision. In accordance with our instructions, we told him that steps should be taken to this end; and declining refreshment, we departed."

We had determined to return to the river through the city, instead of skirting its walls, and therefore, despite the usual remonstrances at our independent behaviour, started off on foot in the direction we wished to go, for we could not depend upon a guide; but after effectually losing ourselves under our own guidance, we ultimately got back to the yamun, and Le, finding us obstinate, ordered a good-natured-looking man, of small military rank, to conduct us to the river-gate. By this time it had got dusk, and we had still a walk of five or six miles before us. The night was thick and sleety, and in the course of that long dreary trudge we became quite intimate with our guide. At first, and while his companions were within earshot, he declared that the resources of the rebels were abundant, and spoke in Mandarin: but during our solitary walk through the wooded park-like country which is enclosed within the walls of the city of Nankin, he relapsed into the Canton dialect, and confided to us a very different state of matters. The rebels, he said, were reduced to great

extremities for supplies ; and he was confirmed in this assertion by the proclamations of Le, which we saw on the walls, calling on the people to subscribe.

Our guide also asked Mr Wade if he could not take him on board one of the English ships to escape. This, he was told, was impossible, on which he expressed his desire to trade in opium or small-arms. He himself smoked, and so, he said, did one-third of the people of Nankin ; not openly, however, for indulgence in the drug is forbidden by law, nor is it publicly sold. He said that although there were not many men in Nankin, there were four large rebel forces in existence—one in the Kwang provinces, one in Fuh-kien, one in Cheh-kiang, and one in Ngan-hwui: the last was very numerous. He spoke of the Imperialists not as the rebels usually affect to do, as demons or imps, but as the troops of Government. They always fled, he said, when the rebels attacked them; but he admitted that the rebels, when attacked, also fled, so that the war was likely to last long enough. He also told us that polygamy was the order of the day. The Heavenly King had 300 wives, and he himself admitted to having had a very pretty bride allotted to him recently. The captured women are distributed among the soldiers ; and we observed some pleasing female faces as we passed along the streets.

The captured men are pressed into the service, and tied together, and put into the front rank when they go into action.

The only form of prayer which our guide knew

was a short grace said before meals, which he repeated. Sometimes they knelt, and the teacher prayed; but they never understood what he said. Three officers and twenty men had, he said, been killed by the fire of our ships on the way up the river.

The city of Nankin was occupied exclusively by rebel forces. We did not observe a single shop, nor was there any person engaged in trade. Many of the streets were entirely deserted, and the houses unoccupied. A vast portion of the area within the walls has never been built upon, while yamuns and public buildings still exist to attest its former magnificence. The most remarkable of these was the Choong-koo-low, or Central Drum Tower, under which we passed.

The present strength of the rebel garrison is estimated at from 10,000 to 15,000 men; that of the besieging force, at double that number. The only hope of the latter seems to be to starve out the insurgents, for which end they have stopped up all thoroughfare by the three sides landward, and merely left open the side toward the river, which the rebels have secured by forts on both sides of the Yang-tse, thus retaining to themselves liberty of egress at pleasure. Six out of the thirteen gates which formerly gave access to the city are open, the rest are bricked up.

The centre of authority is evidently within the city, but there are circumstances which throw a doubt over the existence of Hung-siu-tsuen, although his followers all speak of him as still living, and edicts

are issued under his name, with the title "Teĕn-wang" (Celestial Prince). The evidence is more complete as to the death of the four secondary princes—North, South, East, and West. Two of these were killed in battle, and the others, who held their courts at Nankin, became the victims of internal feuds. Successors are said to have been appointed to the East, West, and South princes—all minors. Besides the Prime Minister Tsin, who, it is whispered, personates the Prince, the resident executive chiefs seem to be four men, named Chin, Le, Mung, and Sin; and these have their offices within the city. The assistant-prince, Shih Ta-kae, was reported to be at the head of the army in Fuh-kien, on the east of Kiang-si.

There are twenty-four chief, and the same number of secondary, ministers of state, who are distributed in various parts of the insurgent territory. Most of the offices of trust are held by members of the original confederation, the majority being Kwang-tung or Kwang-si men.

It will be seen that our intercourse with the rebels, though more extensive than that of any foreigners hitherto, has not been of a character to enable us to acquire any very minute details with reference to their religious tenets. Mr Wylie, who had for some years watched with interest the progress of the rebellion, was of opinion that the religious eccentricities which began to appear soon after its commencement, are now assuming such prominence as to threaten the extinction of the vital truths of Chris-

tianity. The supremacy of their chief, Hung-siu-tsuen, they seem disposed to insist on, exalting him to divine honours as the third in rank, below whom all believers in Jesus are junior brethren. Whether any large number of them believe in the divine mission of Hung is, Mr Wylie thinks, questionable; and it is to be feared that scepticism is equally prevalent regarding the better parts of their professed creed. The destruction of temples and idols is still insisted on, as we saw by the fragments of images which strewed the streets; and proclamations were posted up, urging the extirpation of idolatry in every form. This does not extend to the ancestral temples, however, these being universally respected, which implies that the worship there is in harmony with their profession.

The doctrines of their religion, in so far as they are expounded in their published documents, appear to consist of an extraordinary jumble of Jewish polity, Christian theology, and Chinese philosophy. The result, as tested by our observation, was very much what might have been expected from so incongruous a compound. We found the rebels making war like Jews, living like the worst description of professing Christians, and believing like—Chinamen!

CHAPTER XXI.

THE YANG-TSE-KIANG COMMERCIALLY CONSIDERED—SENSATION ON OUR ARRIVAL—SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF THE FURIOUS—THE SECRET EDICT—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE COMMISSIONERS—THE AFFAIRS OF CANTON—RESULT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE—DECREE PUBLISHED IN THE "PEKIN GAZETTE"—DEPARTURE FROM SHANGHAI—MILITARY PROMENADES NEAR CANTON—EXPEDITION TO FAYUNE—A VOYAGE TO HAINAN—ADIEU TO CHINA—ARRIVAL AT MALTA.

As Lord Elgin was anxious to reach Shanghai in time for the mail, we pushed on in the Lee, leaving the Dove to pilot the Retribution through the more intricate navigation. We performed the voyage from Kew-kiang to the mouth of the Shanghai river in a week. When we remember that this was at the driest season of the year, and our gunboat drew eight feet of water, we are forced to admit the capabilities of the great river of China for purposes of navigation. When, however, steamers built expressly for the purpose begin to ply on this great channel of internal communication, they will find that their success depends, not upon the depth of water, but upon the nature of the competition with which they will have to contend. If river-tugs can tow flats at a cheaper rate than the

Chinese can work barges upon the canals and inner waters of the country, then the Yang-tse-Kiang will become the highway for British commerce. In any other country in the world, machinery, whether applied to steamships or cotton-mills, will beat manual labour. In China, where a man's work is not worth a farthing a-day, his labour takes a higher place in competition with steam-power. We have failed to substitute to any extent in China cotton manufactured by machinery for that manufactured by the hand; let us hope that, at all events, we may succeed in replacing junks by steamers.

Where valuable cargoes, such as opium, are concerned, there is no doubt that steamers will be preferred to the water-conveyances of the country; but in teas and heavier cargoes the question is more problematical.

If we fail, we shall probably console ourselves by attributing it to the influence of the Government in some incomprehensible way. Doubtless the Chinese Government has much to answer for; but it cannot, and does not, affect the fundamental principles of political economy. Lord Elgin, in referring to our commercial prospects in the markets of the interior, thus alludes to this popular delusion: "My general impression is, that British manufacturers will have to exert themselves to the utmost if they intend to supplant, to any considerable extent in the native market, the fabrics produced in their leisure hours, and at intervals of rest from agricultural labour, by this in-

dustrious, frugal, and sober population. It is a pleasing but pernicious fallacy to imagine that the influence of an intriguing mandarin is to be presumed whenever a buyer shows a preference for native over foreign calico."* This will be equally true if he shows a preference for native over foreign river-craft.

At the same time this problem—if problem it be—cannot be solved until the rebels are dispossessed of their position for a hundred and fifty miles upon the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang. We cannot expect the Chinese Government to permit us to trade with the insurgents. Nor, if the river is once opened to the commercial enterprise of foreigners, is it easy to devise a system by which all intercourse shall be confined to those who are well disposed towards the constituted authorities of the country.

The result, then, of our six weeks' exploration of the great river of China had been most satisfactory as regards its navigable capabilities, and tolerably so in a commercial point of view, if all political difficulties were removed; but, unfortunately, these latter were of a nature calculated, in a great measure, to neutralise all other advantages. Let us hope that an opportunity may now be afforded, which did not present itself during the period of our diplomatic experience in China, of removing those obstacles, and opening this magnificent highway to the merchants of the world.

We steamed up to Shanghai and cast anchor among

* *Blue-Book*, p. 446.

the shipping that crowded the river, under the pleasing consciousness that we were creating a sensation. A squadron of five ships had left the port six weeks ago; all that returned of it was a solitary gunboat, with Lord Elgin's flag flying at the main. The public of Shanghai were completely at fault. It had been reported that Lord Elgin, and the rest of the Mission, had been captured and sent in cages to Pekin, and that most of the ships had been sunk, and that the Furious alone survived to tell the tale. That was only to be expected; but now it appeared that Lord Elgin had returned without the Furious. This was a much more startling and unnatural phenomenon. We were received most cordially by a knot of inquirers, who greeted us as we landed on the bund; and all derived thorough satisfaction from the intelligence of two British ships being fixed for the winter in the heart of China. Could any method have been devised by which the country would be more inevitably opened up? What prodigies of exploration might not two such enterprising leaders as Captains Osborn and Bythesea, with their officers, perform during a residence of four or five months in the far interior? Poor fellows, they would need mental and bodily comforts of all kinds. The Dove, about to return with supplies, was consequently loaded with light literature and Bass's beer, woollen stockings, No. 4 shot, Cavendish tobacco, wading-boots, and every luxury or necessary that the kind-hearted community could contribute, to console them for an existence

which, we all devoutly hoped, for the good of commerce generally, might continue overmany months.

Our astonishment may be imagined when, before we had been in Shanghai a week, we were startled about midnight by the unexpected appearance of Captain Osborn himself. It seemed that he had taken advantage of a sudden rise of the river after heavy rains, to make a flying leap over the bar, and had come down at a slashing pace with our good old ship, whose well-known proportions were visible next morning just off the Consulate windows.

We found the Imperial Commissioners in a most amiable mood, on the occasion of a visit of congratulation, which they hastened to pay Lord Elgin, on his safe return from the perils of the recent river-navigation.

About this time intelligence reached us from Canton, and gave rise to a correspondence too important not to be noticed. A body of British troops, exercising in the neighbourhood of Canton, were unexpectedly attacked by a strong force of braves, and though, fortunately, no serious loss was inflicted, they were compelled to retreat with some haste to the city. This wanton act of hostility, at a time when the Imperial Government was professing, through its Commissioners at Shanghai, sentiments of the most affectionate and conciliatory nature, called for prompt punishment; and an expedition was consequently organised against the small town of Shek-tsing, about seven miles distant from Canton, known as the head-

quarters of a large body of the local militia. This operation was executed with great spirit and success. With a loss of four men wounded, we succeeded in destroying Shek-tsing, driving out the braves, who dispersed in great confusion, and capturing some of the private papers of the Commissioners appointed by the Government to organise militia against barbarians, and popularly known as the Fayune Commissioners.

At the same time a document of a remarkable character, which had fallen into the hands of Mr Parkes, was forwarded by that gentleman to Lord Elgin. It purported to be an edict secretly issued by the Government, inciting the braves to hostile action, and indicating a policy so infamous and treacherous, that Lord Elgin forwarded it to the Commissioners, with the remark, that his Excellency "refrains from any comment upon this paper, in the sincere hope that the Commissioners will be enabled to assure him that its authors, in imputing to the Emperor the insidiously hostile policy which it declares, have unwarrantably abused his Majesty's name." The Commissioners, in reply, unhesitatingly affirm this to have been the case. "As regards the document," they say, "to which your letter refers, and of which you have sent us a copy, we have the honour to assure you most positively, that after examining it together, we entertain no doubt that it is a forgery.

"The Commissioner Twan has been in the council (by which they are prepared and transmitted) so

many years, that he is certainly qualified to pronounce upon the point; and an inspection of the document has thoroughly satisfied him that it is a spurious composition."

Notwithstanding this assurance, Lord Elgin was so ill-pleased with the state of matters in the south, that he determined to adopt a tone in his correspondence which should oblige the Commissioners to aid him in remedying the evil; he therefore recurred to, and insisted upon, his original demand, that they should procure from the Emperor the dismissal of Hwang, the Governor-General of Kwang-tung, and the dissolution of the Committee of Gentry, whose functions were to organise braves ostensibly for the protection of the country against rebels, but really to disturb us in our occupation of Canton.

It will be remembered that when the Commissioners arrived at Shanghai at the commencement of October, Lord Elgin called their attention to the unsatisfactory position of affairs at Canton, and informed them that he declined to enter into negotiations with them, until he should receive from them the assurance that Hwang, the Governor-General of Kwang-tung, as well as the chiefs of the Fayune Committee, should be removed from office.

Their Excellencies undertook to memorialise the Emperor for the removal from office of the persons above named, and to furnish Lord Elgin with a copy of the decree which the Emperor might issue, giving effect to the prayer of their memorial.

On the faith of these assurances the Ambassador entered into negotiations with the Commissioners on various matters, which it was important to settle definitively, with a view to the establishment of peace, and a good understanding between Great Britain and China.

On our return to Shanghai, after an interval of three months, when Lord Elgin applied to the Commissioners for the copy of the Imperial decree which he had been promised, he was furnished with an Imperial decree which, so far from removing Hwang and dismissing the Fayune chiefs from office, informs the Commissioners that the Emperor declines to be guided in this matter by their advice. At the same time intelligence is received from Canton to the effect that our troops have been fired upon. Under these circumstances, Lord Elgin informed the Commissioners that he had come to the following resolutions :—

First—"To hold no further communication with the Imperial Commissioners on the subject of Canton, as they clearly have no sufficient authority from the Emperor to deal with this matter."

Second—"To urge the military and naval commanders of the British forces at Canton, to move their troops freely about the province, and to punish severely any braves or others who may have the temerity to molest them."

Lord Elgin concludes by saying, that "when the undersigned (or his successor) proceeds to Pekin for the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin, he will ascertain whether the occurrences at

Canton, of which he complains, have or have not the sanction of the Emperor, and will act accordingly."

This missive had the desired effect. We had reason to believe that a copy of it was forwarded to Pekin at the rate of 600 le a-day; and it provoked from the Commissioners a reply, in which a positive assurance was given, that Hwang and the Committee should be removed, and the conduct of the braves was denounced in the strongest possible terms. Before leaving China, Lord Elgin had the satisfaction of receiving from the Commissioners a communication enclosing a copy of an Imperial decree, transferring to Ho, the enlightened Governor-General of the Two Kiangs, the seal of the Imperial Commissioner hitherto held by Hwang. As this decree was promulgated avowedly in consequence of Lord Elgin's representation above quoted, there can be little doubt that the allusion to his proceeding to Pekin operated strongly upon the Imperial mind.

The last official communication which Lord Elgin received from China, when on his way to England, was a notification that this same decree, removing Hwang and denouncing the secret edict as a forgery, had been published as a spontaneous act on the part of the Chinese Government in the *Pekin Gazette*. It runs as follows:—

IMPERIAL EDICT.

(*From the Pekin Gazette*, 31*st January*.)

"We have this day received a memorial from Kweiliang and his colleagues, to the effect that they

have received, with the letters from the British, a false Imperial Edict of the kind despatched directly from the Imperial Court, and which, they were informed, had been obtained by an Englishman in Kwang-tung."

"On perusing this, OUR surprise was extreme. From all time China has held fast by principles of the highest justice in her benevolent measure for tranquillising the various nations: she has never laid plans for secretly injuring them."

"Subsequently to the failure of Yeh-mingshin, WE appointed Hwang-tsung-han to be Governor-General of the Two Kwang, and gave him the seal of Imperial Commissioner of OUR territories. As to Vice-President Lo-tun-yen and his colleagues, they, stimulated by patriotic ardour, enrolled braves for the defence of their country—a perfectly rightful occupation for local gentry."

"Recently, however, the amicable negotiations of Kweiliang and his colleagues at Tientsin having been finished, Hwang-tsung-han had to busy himself with internal military affairs only, while Lo-tun-yen and his colleagues had, in obedience to OUR commands, to deal solely with native bandits. It was not in contemplation that they should engage in hostilities with the British and French. Although these nations have not yet redelivered the capital of Kwang-tung, yet if they maintain proper order among their troops, causing no annoyance to the inhabitants, they may live together in peace, free from all troubles."

"A Court despatch has, however, been fabricated,

giving cause to difficulties between Lo-tun-yen with his colleagues on the one side, and these two nations on the other, and producing doubt and suspicion in the mind of the British. We now therefore command Hwang-tsung-han to take strict measures for the seizure of the lawless fabricators, and to punish them with the utmost rigour of the law. Thus may all nations know that China transacts her affairs in an open, rightful, and liberal spirit, and that, when once a settlement is arrived at, suspicions and doubts may be given up, and so no room be left for the instigations of false mischief-makers.

"As Shanghai, where the arrangements connected with the general trade are at present being made, lies at a considerable distance from Kwang-tung, WE hereby appoint the Governor-General of the Two Keang, Ho-kwei-tsing, to be Imperial Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, and WE hereby command Kwang-tsung-han to send a special officer to deliver to him the seal of Imperial Commissioner now in use. Respect this."

When it is remembered that the *Pekin Gazette* is published purely for the information of the Chinese population, and is not supposed to be read or seen by foreigners, we could not but regard the official promulgation of such conciliatory sentiments as a hopeful symptom of the future.

Meantime, Lord Elgin was of opinion that his presence at Canton would tend to facilitate the settle-

ment of matters in that troubled locality: he had already urged upon General Straubenzee the expediency of vigorously following up his successful operations on Shek-tsing. "I think it very important," says his Excellency, "that advantage should be taken of this cool season to accustom the rural inhabitants of the vicinity of Canton to the presence of our troops, and to punish severely braves or others who may venture to attack or resist them—every security, of course, being given that the peaceful inhabitants shall not in any way be molested."

Lord Elgin now announced to the Commissioners his determination to proceed to Canton, stating as he did so that it was his intention to return to Shanghai, to discuss with them various questions, the settlement of which was still pending. He was ultimately prevented from carrying this arrangement into effect, by learning on his arrival at Canton that Mr Bruce, who had been appointed to relieve him, was expected immediately. The mercantile community, believing that the special mission was about to bid a final adieu to Shanghai, presented His Excellency with an address, congratulating him upon the large measure of success with which his diplomatic efforts, both in China and Japan, had been crowned.

On the 25th of January, Lord Elgin gave a farewell ball at the Consulate, immediately after which we once more turned into our familiar cots on board the Furious, and slept till an advanced hour of the

following day, when Shanghai was twenty miles astern, and the turbid waters of the Yang-tse-Kiang were for the last time sweeping us rapidly out to sea.

Early in February 1859, the Furious took up her berth in the Canton River, at the same anchorage at which I had left her precisely a year before. How great a change had been wrought in Canton during the interval. Then the troops were camped on the walls, or roughly barracked in yamuns; the streets were crowded with people leaving the city under the influence of fear; many of the shops were shut: and numbers of houses were uninhabited and in ruins.

Now a well-organised system of government had produced order out of chaos. A body of efficient police patrolled the streets, which were cleaner than those of any other town in China. The gambling-booths were all closed. Vacant spaces had been cleared of rubbish, and turned into parade grounds. Officers and men occupied comfortable quarters, and the streets might be traversed in any direction with perfect security. Trading was flourishing; the merchants, for the most part, occupying temporary abodes on Honan Island (on the opposite side of the river) until the site for the new British factory should be definitively decided upon.

The numerical strength of the police force which kept order in Canton during a year's occupation only, amounted to one hundred and fifty men. Captain Pim, who commanded this body of men, informed me that, out of the number, he had lost four men

killed and twelve wounded, in the execution of their duty. These outrages had been committed during the summer, when braves were in the habit of secretly entering the city, and assassinating solitary Europeans. The town's-people, however, so far from sympathising in the proceedings of these ruffians, used frequently to point them out to our men.

The success of the Shek-tsing expedition, and the wholesome moral effect which had been already produced upon the rural population of the district adjoining Canton, suggested the idea of military promenades on a more extensive scale. One was accordingly undertaken to Fat-shan, and another to Taileck, the principal village of the confederation known as "The Ninety-Six Villages," both passing off peaceably, and producing, so far as we were enabled to judge, the most salutary effect upon the population. The notorious town of Fayune, however, situated between thirty and forty miles to the north of Canton, had still to be visited, and thither General Straubenzee proposed to march with a force of a thousand men. I was permitted to accompany the troops upon this expedition, which proved, in fact, a most interesting and agreeable five days' excursion, and partook rather of the character of a pic-nic than a military reconnoissance. As, however, it was fully described at the time, and was invested with no immediate interest beyond that which must necessarily attach to a march through a little-known country, I shall not enter upon any description of it. The political results of this, as

of the other military promenades of the same nature which were undertaken about this period, were in the highest degree satisfactory. The country people, whose feelings towards foreigners are naturally amiable, became accustomed to our presence, and less than ever disposed to subscribe for the support of the disreputable rabble that had collected in the neighbourhood of Canton from other parts of the country, and called themselves "Braves."

The "Braves" themselves found their prestige destroyed by the Shek-tsing affair, and now, for the first time, became aware that barbarians could undertake military movements, unsupported by "devil ships," and that no retreat in the vicinity of Canton was secure from the visits of a foreign force. The dissolution of the Committee of Fayune by Imperial edict, and the encampment for twenty-four hours of a thousand men under the walls of that town, effectually extinguished the warlike spirit of the militia, and it will be our own fault if we ever allow it to break forth again.

As, by the mail due in China at the end of February, we expected to receive definite intelligence of the movements of Mr Bruce, as well as the views of the home government upon a question of policy which might render it necessary for Lord Elgin to return to Shanghai, he determined to occupy the interval by a voyage of discovery and exploration to the new port opened by the treaty of Tientsin in the island of Hainan.

Unfortunately, as we approached that little-known and unsurveyed coast, it came on to blow a gale of wind. On our lee bow was a low sandy treacherous-looking shore, with a high conical mountain inland; on our quarter, the precipitous Taya Islands loomed dangerously through the haze; round us the waves foamed and chopped in an unpleasant manner, suggestive of strong currents and hidden reefs. Still the cry of the leadsman, anxiously waited for as we crept cautiously along, was, "No bottom:"—suddenly there came a sharp short "Seven fathoms." Our leadsmen were too well trained to waste the time in musical cadences on these occasions. In a second the helm was hard down, and the shoaling of the water, as the ship turned almost in her own length, proved how near had been the danger. The sea was running too high to make channel-hunting among coral reefs without a gunboat, either an agreeable or safe amusement. So we turned our backs in disgust upon the inhospitable shores of Hainan, and ran for shelter and comfort into a pretty little port on the mainland, where a snug pirate village nestled among woods, in a nook so secluded that we only stumbled on it by accident, and found a cut-throat population living in considerable comfort upon no apparent resources, beyond what a certain number of well-armed junks could provide them with. After touching at the Island of St John's, and fruitlessly exploring one of its bays in search of the tomb of François Xavier, we once more anchored in Hong-Kong harbour,

as we devoutly trusted, "positively for the last time."

The arrival of the mail with scarcely any letters for the Mission decided the question. It was evident that we were supposed in England to be on our way home, for both private and official correspondence had all but stopped. As Mr Bruce had been charged to exchange the ratifications, and the Admiral had been instructed to have a ship waiting for him at Singapore at the end of February, there was nothing to be gained by lingering longer amid the scenes of our protracted diplomatic labours.

On the 4th of March we watched with inexpressible delight the rugged coast of China sink behind the horizon, and a week afterwards landed at Singapore. It was not, however, until we reached Ceylon that we met Mr Bruce, whose departure from England had been delayed until a somewhat later period than had been anticipated.

The Furious, more faithful to us than we had been to her in the Yang-tse-Kiang, conveyed us in safety to Suez, where we had the satisfaction of being the first passengers who had ever breakfasted in the Red Sea, and dined the same afternoon in the Mediterranean. A very faint idea of our anxiety to get home may be gathered from this circumstance.

We entered the harbour of Valetta upon the anniversary of the day on which, two years before, we had steamed out of it on our way to the East. Since then India and China had successively occupied the

public mind; now it was absorbed in watching the destinies of Italy. Unhappily events have again occurred in the Celestial Empire, as unforeseen as they have been unfortunate. Whether our labours during two years in that country have been wasted, and the Treaty of Tientsin becomes at last a reality or a fiction, must depend upon the skill of our diplomacy no less than on the force of our arms.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE TREATY OF YEDO.

ENCLOSURE IN No. 200.

Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce, between Her Majesty and the Tycoon of Japan. Signed in the English, Japanese, and Dutch languages, at Yedo, August 26, 1858.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, being desirous to place the relations between the two countries on a permanent and friendly footing, and to facilitate commercial intercourse between their respective subjects, and having for that purpose resolved to enter into a Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce, have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, a Peer of the United Kingdom, and Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle:

And His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, Midzno Tsikfogono Kami; Nagai Gembano Kami; Inouwye Sinano no Kami; Hori Oribeno Kami; Iwase Higono Kami; and Tsuda Hanzabro;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, her heirs and successors, and His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, and between their respective dominions and subjects.

ARTICLE II.

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland may appoint a Diplomatic Agent to reside at the city of Yedo, and Consuls or Consular Agents to reside at any or all the ports of Japan which are opened for British commerce by this Treaty.

The Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General of Great Britain shall have the right to travel freely to any part of the Empire of Japan.

His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan may appoint a Diplomatic Agent to reside in London, and Consuls, or Consular Agents, at any or all the ports of Great Britain.

The Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General of Japan shall have the right to travel freely to any part of Great Britain.

ARTICLE III.

The ports and towns of Hakodadi, Kanagawa, and Nagasaki, shall be opened to British subjects on the first of July, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine. In addition to which, the following ports and towns shall be opened to them at the dates hereinafter specified :—

Nee-e-gata, or, if Nee-e-gata be found to be unsuitable as a harbour, another convenient port on the west coast of Nipon, on the first day of January, One thousand eight hundred and sixty.

Hiogo, on the first day of January, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

In all the foregoing ports and towns British subjects may permanently reside. They shall have the right to lease ground, and purchase the buildings thereon, and may erect dwelling and warehouses; but no fortification, or place of

military strength, shall be erected under pretence of building dwelling or warehouses: and to see that this Article is observed, the Japanese authorities shall have the right to inspect, from time to time, any buildings which are being erected, altered, or repaired.

The place which British subjects shall occupy for their buildings, and the harbour regulations, shall be arranged by the British Consul and the Japanese authorities of each place, and, if they cannot agree, the matter shall be referred to and settled by the British Diplomatic Agent and the Japanese Government. No wall, fence, or gate shall be erected by the Japanese around the place where British subjects reside, or anything done which may prevent a free egress or ingress to the same.

British subjects shall be free to go where they please, within the following limits, at the opened ports of Japan.

At Kanagawa to the River Logo (which empties into the Bay of Yedo, between Kawasaki and Sinagowa) and ten *ri* in any direction.

At Hakodadi ten *ri* in any direction.

At Hiogo ten *ri* in any direction, that of Kioto excepted, which city shall not be approached nearer than ten *ri*. The crews of vessels resorting to Hiogo shall not cross the River Enagawa, which empties into the bay between Hiogo and Osaca.

The distance shall be measured by land from the goyoso, or town-hall, of each of the foregoing ports, the *ri* being equal to four thousand two hundred and seventy-five yards English measure.

At Nagasaki, British subjects may go into any part of the Imperial domain in its vicinity.

The boundaries of Nee-ɡ-gata, or the place that may be substituted for it, shall be settled by the British Diplomatic Agent and the Government of Japan.

From the first day of January, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, British subjects shall be allowed to reside in the city of Yedo, and from the first day of January, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, in the city of Osaca,

for the purposes of trade only. In each of these two cities a suitable place, within which they may hire houses, and the distance they may go, shall be arranged by the British Diplomatic Agent and the Government of Japan.

ARTICLE IV.

All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects in the dominions of His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

ARTICLE V.

Japanese subjects, who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects, shall be arrested and punished by the Japanese authorities, according to the laws of Japan.

British subjects, who may commit any crime against Japanese subjects, or the subjects or citizens of any other country, shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or other public functionary authorised thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain.

Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

ARTICLE VI.

A British subject having reason to complain of a Japanese, must proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance.

The Consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Japanese have reason to complain of a British subject, the Consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Japanese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably.

ARTICLE VII.

Should any Japanese subject fail to discharge debts incurred to a British subject, or should he fraudulently abscond,

the Japanese authorities will do their utmost to bring him to justice, and to enforce recovery of the debts; and should any British subject fraudulently abscond or fail to discharge debts incurred by him to a Japanese subject, the British authorities will, in like manner, do their utmost to bring him to justice, and to enforce recovery of the debts.

Neither the British or Japanese Governments are to be held responsible for the payment of any debts contracted by British or Japanese subjects.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Japanese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment, by British subjects, of Japanese in any lawful capacity.

ARTICLE IX.

British subjects in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right to erect suitable places of worship.

ARTICLE X.

All foreign coin shall be current in Japan, and shall pass for its corresponding weight in Japanese coin of the same description.

British and Japanese subjects may freely use foreign or Japanese coin, in making payments to each other.

As some time will elapse before the Japanese will become acquainted with the value of foreign coin, the Japanese Government will, for the period of one year after the opening of each port, furnish British subjects with Japanese coin in exchange for theirs, equal weights being given, and no discount taken for re-coinage.

Coins of all description (with the exception of Japanese copper coin), as well as foreign gold and silver uncoined, may be exported from Japan.

ARTICLE XI.

Supplies for the use of the British navy may be landed at Kanagawa, Hakodadi, and Nagasaki, and stored in ware-

houses, in the custody of an officer of the British Government, without the payment of any duty; but if any such supplies are sold in Japan, the purchaser shall pay the proper duty to the Japanese authorities.

ARTICLE XII.

If any British vessel be at any time wrecked or stranded on the coasts of Japan, or be compelled to take refuge in any port within the dominions of the Tycoon of Japan, the Japanese authorities, on being apprised of the fact, shall immediately render all the assistance in their power; the persons on board shall receive friendly treatment, and be furnished, if necessary, with the means of conveyance to the nearest Consular station.

ARTICLE XIII.

Any British merchant-vessel arriving off one of the open ports of Japan, shall be at liberty to hire a pilot to take her into port. In like manner, after she has discharged all legal dues and duties, and is ready to take her departure, she shall be allowed to hire a pilot to conduct her out of port.

ARTICLE XIV.

At each of the ports open to trade, British subjects shall be at full liberty to import from their own or any other ports, and sell there, and purchase therein, and export to their own or any other ports, all manner of merchandise, not contraband, paying the duties thereon, as laid down in the Tariff annexed to the present Treaty, and no other charges whatsoever.

With the exception of munitions of war, which shall only be sold to the Japanese Government and foreigners, they may freely buy from Japanese, and sell to them, any articles that either may have for sale, without the intervention of any Japanese officers in such purchase or sale, or in making or receiving payments for the same; and all classes of Japanese may purchase, sell, keep, or use any articles sold to them by British subjects.

ARTICLE XV.

If the Japanese Customhouse officers are dissatisfied with the value placed on any goods by the owner, they may place a value thereon, and offer to take the goods at that valuation. If the owner refuses to accept the offer he shall pay duty on such valuation. If the offer be accepted by the owner, the purchase-money shall be paid to him without delay, and without any abatement or discount.

ARTICLE XVI.

All goods imported into Japan by British subjects, and which have paid the duty fixed by this Treaty, may be transported by the Japanese into any part of the Empire without the payment of any tax, excise, or transit-duty whatever.

ARTICLE XVII.

British merchants who may have imported merchandise into any open port in Japan, and paid duty thereon, shall be entitled, on obtaining from the Japanese Customhouse authorities a certificate stating that such payment has been made, to re-export the same, and land it in any other of the open ports without the payment of any additional duty whatever.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Japanese authorities at each port will adopt the means that they may judge most proper for the prevention of fraud or smuggling.

ARTICLE XIX.

All penalties enforced, or confiscations made under this Treaty, shall belong to, and be appropriated by, the Government of His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan.

ARTICLE XX.

The Articles for the regulation of trade which are appended to this Treaty, shall be considered as forming part of the same, and shall be equally binding on both the Contracting Parties to this Treaty, and on their subjects.

The Diplomatic Agent of Great Britain in Japan, in con-

junction with such person or persons as may be appointed for that purpose by the Japanese Government, shall have power to make such rules as may be required to carry into full and complete effect the provisions of this Treaty, and the provisions of the Articles regulating trade appended thereto.

ARTICLE XXI.

This Treaty being written in the English, Japanese, and Dutch languages, and all the versions having the same meaning and intention, the Dutch version shall be considered the original; but it is understood that all official communications addressed by the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain to the Japanese authorities, shall henceforward be written in English. In order, however, to facilitate the transaction of business, they will, for a period of five years from the signature of this Treaty, be accompanied by a Dutch or Japanese version.

ARTICLE XXII.

It is agreed that either of the High Contracting Parties to this Treaty, on giving one year's previous notice to the other, may demand a revision thereof, on or after the first of July, One thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, with a view to the insertion therein of such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

ARTICLE XXIII.

It is hereby expressly stipulated that the British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities, and advantages that may have been, or may be hereafter, granted by His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan to the Government or subjects of any other nation.

ARTICLE XXIV.

The ratification of this Treaty, under the hand of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and under

the name and seal of His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, respectively, shall be exchanged at Yedo, within a year from this day of signature.

In token whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Treaty.

Done at Yedo, this twenty-sixth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, corresponding to the Japanese date, the eighteenth day of the seventh month of the fifth year of Ansei Tsut sinonye mma.

(Signed) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

MIDZNO TSIKFOGONO KAMI.

NAGAI GEMBANO KAMI.

INOUWYE SINANO NO KAMI.

HORI ORIBENO KAMI.

IWASE HIGONO KAMI.

TSUDA HANZABRO.

No. II.

No. II.

TRADE RETURNS BETWEEN SHANGHAI AND JAPAN.

IMPORTS FROM JAPAN FROM 11TH NOV. TO 31ST DEC. 1858.

Dried fish, ...150 peculs.	Seaweed, ...30 peculs.
Ginseng, ...18,474 catties.	Shark fins, ...24 —
Mussels, ...35 peculs.	Vegetable wax, ...1,206 —
Rice, ...1,200 —	

FROM 1ST JANUARY TO 30TH JUNE 1859.

Bees'-wax, ...54 peculs.	Japan root, ...75 peculs.
Bicho de Mar, ...377 —	Isinglass (Kanting) 1,551 —
Brooms, ...1,000 pieces.	Medicines, ...108 —
Candles, ...60 peculs.	Mushrooms, ...226 —
Camphor, ...97 —	Mussels, ...28 —
Cassia, ...77 —	Nut galls, ...1,050 —
Copper wire, ...5 —	Oil, vegetable, ...4,786 —
Cotton manufactures, ...3,200 pieces.	Paper, ...180 —
Coal, ...4,955 tons.	Pease and beans, ...4,180 —
Dried fish, ...2,335 peculs.	Rice, ...13,546 —
Flax, ...4 —	Raw silk, ...366 42-100 peculs.
Flour, ...130 —	Seaweed, all kinds, 61,561 —
Fungus, ...9 —	Shark-fins ....1,051 —
Ginger, ...3 —	Silk-piece goods, ...70 28-100 peculs.
Ginseng, ...36,746 catties.	Soy, ...562 —
Hemp cloth, ...589 pieces.	Vermicelli, ...459 —
Imitation leather ware, 4 peculs.	Wax, vegetable, ...3,469 —
	Wheat, ...5,537 —

RE-IMPORTS.

Alum, ...625 peculs.	Iron wire, ...33 peculs.
Cambrics, ...200 pieces.	Pepper, black, ...8 —
Cochineal, ...360 catties.	Quicksilver, ...50 flasks.
Cottons, dyed, ...274 pieces.	Rhubarb, ...109 peculs.
,, fancy, ...400 —	Sugar, ...5,094 —
,, printed, ...8,338 —	Tin, ...32 —
Dates, ...34 peculs.	,, plates, ...379 boxes.
Goats' horns, ...2 —	Tortoise-shell, ...2 peculs.
Handkerchiefs, ...6,296 dozen.	Velvets and velveteens, ...420 pieces.
Long ells, ...40 pieces.	Window glass, ...15 boxes.
Medicines, ...111 peculs.	Spanish stripes ....48 pieces.
Lead, ...704 —	Woollen and cotton mixtures, ...528 —
Iron, ...1,352 —	
Indigo, ...50 —	
Muslins, ...100 pieces.	

EXPORTS TO JAPAN FROM 27TH NOV. TO 31ST DEC. 1858.

Cotton, printed ....1,500 pieces.	Spelter, ...500 peculs.
Camlets, ...120 —	Tin, ...325 —
Cottons, dyed, ...300 —	,, plates, ...450 boxes.
Handkerchiefs, ...2,506 dozen.	Betelnut, ...292 peculs.
Long cloths, grey, 2,850 pieces.	Cloves, ...200 —
Long ells, ...220 —	Cutch, ...250 —
Muslins, ...100 —	Gamboge, ...1 —
Spanish stripes, ...228 —	Indigo, ...75 —

EXPORTS TO JAPAN FROM 27TH NOV. TO 31ST DEC. 1858—*Continued.*

Liquorice, ...27 peculs.
Mangrove bark,.....50 —
Medicines, ...19 —
Matting, ...5 bundles.
Paper, native, ...2 peculs.
Redwood, ...300 —
Rosewood, ...500 peculs.
Rhubarb, ...132 —
Sapanwood, ...2,736 —
Tortoise shell, ...2 —
Turmeric, ...1 —
Window glass,.....6 boxes.

FROM 1ST JANUARY TO 30TH JUNE, 1859.

Broadcloths,.....280 pieces.
Cambrics, ...400 —
Camlets, ...395 —
Cottons, dyed .....7,680 —
,, fancy .....3,843 —
,, printed, 11,793 —
Damasks, ...1,405 —
Dimities, ...200 —
Drills, grey, ...420 —
Handkerchiefs, ...19,005 dozen.
Lastings,.....46 pieces.
Long cloths, grey, 15,198 —
,, white, 5,600 —
Long ells,.....140 —
Muslins, ...625 —
Spanish stripes, ...103 —
Twills, grey,.....300 —
Velvets and velveteens, ...3,448 —
Woollen and cotton mixtures, ...867 —
Window glass, ...21 boxes.
Iron, nail, rod, and bar,.....1,352 peculs.
Iron wire, ...33 —
Lead,.....824 —
Quicksilver, ...78 —
Spelter,.....852 —
Steel, ...55 —
Tinplates, ...184 boxes.
Tin, ...60 peculs.
Amber.....15 —
Aniseed.....276 —
Alum,.....1,875 —
Betelnut, ...1,255 —
,, husk,.....39 —
Birds' nests,.....6 —
Buffalo horns, ...17 —
Camphor, native, ...2 —
Cardamum, ...32 —
Carpets,.....2,800 pieces.
Cassia buds,.....5 peculs.
Chestnut, ...97 —
China root,.....25 —
,, pencils, ...43,000 pieces.
Cinnamon, ...2 peculs.
Cloves, ...782 —
Clamp shells,.....14 —
Cocoa-nut husk, ...14 —
Colours, ...8 —
Copperfoil, ...5 —
Cutch, ...218 —
Dates, ...213 —
Dye stuff, ...68 —
Earthenware, ...540 pieces.
Ebony, ...350 peculs.
Eggs, preserved, ...1,500 pieces.
Fans,.....467 —
Galangal, ...185 peculs.
Gamboge, ...18 —
Garroo-wood,.....30 —
Ginseng, ...13 20-100 peculs.
Goats' hair.....34 —
Gold thread, ...4 cases.
Gum, dragons' blood, 1 68-100 peculs.
,, myrrh, ...2 50-100 —
,, olibanum, ...103 —
Gypsum, ...1,886 —
Hartall,.....156 —
Indigo, ...252 —
Ink, India, ...7 —
Joss-sticks, ...5 —
Laka-wood,.....13 —
Lamp-wicks, ...10 —
Liquorice,.....771 —
Medicines,.....2,748 —
Mangrove bark, ...1,914 —
Matting,. .....2,058 bundles.
Nankeen towels, ...200 pieces.
Nutmegs, ...19 peculs.
Orange peel,.....3 —
Paper, ...142 —
Pepper, black,.....120 —
Putchuck, ...66 —
Rattans,.....1,706 —
Redwood, ...720 —
Red and yellow lead, 90 —
Rhinoceros horns, ...3 —
Rhubarb, ...425 —
Sandalwood,.....137 —
Sapanwood, ...2,076 —
Seaweed,.....70 —
Shark-skins, ...53 —
Sheep-skins,.....4,272 pieces.
Silk piece goods, ...14 peculs.
Sugar, ...10,507 —
,, candy, ...1,257 —
Sticklac, ...30 —
Straw shoes,.....586 pairs.
Tortoise-shell, ...5 peculs.
Tinfoil, ...4 —
Turmeric, ...388 —
Vermilion, ...135 —
Woodware, ...2 —
Leather cushions, ...183 pieces.
Liquorice,.....771 peculs.
Lucraban seed, ...487 —

No. III.

LIST of ARTICLES generally sold, and of Staples found in the Shops at Han-kow, when visited by H.M. Steamship "Furious"—Dec. 1858.

Distinguishing Number.	NATURE.	OF PIECE. Length. Yds.	Feet.	Ins.	Breadth. Yds.	Feet.	Ins.	PRICE. Of Piece.	Per Yard, Foot, &c.	REMARKS.
1	Native Linen	5	0	9	0	0	10¼	200 cash *	38 cash per yard	
2	do.	5	0	9	0	0	10½	200 do.	38 do. do.	
3	Native Cotton	7	0	0	0	0	11	420 do.	60 do. do.	
4	do.	5	1	6	0	0	11	240 do.	43 do. do.	
5	do.	5	0	0	0	0	10	240 do.	43 do. do.	
6	do.	5	1	6	0	0	10	220 do.	40 do. do.	
7	do.	5	2	3	0	0	11	260 do.	46 do. do.	*These Remarks were made at Shanghai :—*
8	do.	5	1	6	0	0	10¾	240 do.	43 do. do.	
9	Foreign Manufacture	2	0	0	0	2	3	800 cash per chang †	213 do. do.	Assorted chintz (7 Pendesha), 28 by 28, val. 1 dol. 40 c., lately 2 dol. 50 c.
10	do.	3	2	3	1	0	0	900 do. do.	240 do. do.	Assorted brocade, 40 by 36 in., value 3 dollars 1 cent. to 4 taels.
11	do.	1	1	2	0	2	3	800 do. do.	213 do. do.	Do. do.
12	do.	1	2	3	0	2	5	750 do. do.	200 do. do.	Dyed Twills—usually 30 in. broad, lengths vary 40 yards to 36 yards.
13	do.	3	2	3	1	0	3	420 do. do.	132 do. do.	64-reed grey sheeting, 38½ yds. by 39 in., val. in Shanghai, 2 dols. per piece.
	Bar Iron, 1st quality	Picul of 150 catties						4400 cash per picul	3707 cash per cwt.	This iron comes from the province of Honan, and town or district of Chang-sha.
	do. 2d do.	,, 100 ,,						2400 to 2800 do.	2016 to 2352 cash per cwt.	
	Copper, 1st quality	From Yunan and Kwei-chau province						500 cash per catty	42112 cash per cwt.	£14.—The 1st quality was severely tested by engineers at Shanghai—found to be as good as the best Swedish.
	do. 2d do.							300 do. do.	25256 do. do.	
	Insect Wax, 1st quality	In large quantities, 400 cash per catty						440 do. do.	230 cash per lb., avoird.	
	Raw Silk, 1st quality	The tael is equal to 6s. 8d. sterling						300 taels per picul.	3609 do. do.	
	Woollen Cloth (Foreign)	Very coarse and rough, no gloss, but strong; said to come from the North (Russia). The Chinese foot is equal to 14.3 inches English						1300 cash per Chinese foot	3342 cash per yard	
	Flax, 1st quality	..						80 cash per catty	6720 cash per cwt.	This is grown about Han-kow, and used for making linen as well as rope. At Ningpo the same flax costs respectively 160 and 140 cash per catty.
	do., 2d do.	..						70 do. do.	5936 do. do.	

* 1000 cash are equal to the dollar at 50 pence English.

† A chang is equal to 3 yards 2 feet 3 inches English.

SHERARD OSBORN, CAPTAIN.

No. IV.

NOTE ON PROSTITUTION.

THOUGH the "social evil" is never an agreeable subject to treat of, it enters into the manners and customs of the people in a manner so singular, and at the same time so prominent, that no account of Japan would be complete without some allusion to it. The same order which governs all the other institutions of the country is applied to this one. There is nothing slovenly in the mode of administration here. Vice itself is systematised. Thus courtesans are divided into four classes, and are held in various degrees of estimation according to their rank in the social scale. Two distinct quarters of this vast city of Yedo are set apart for purposes of debauchery. The eastern suburb, which seems to be frequented by the middle and lower classes, contains persons of the second and third class, and is simply a den of infamy where the poor creatures flaunt about the streets, as they do in our own large cities.

Sinagawa, however, is the resort of the aristocracy. Hither noblemen repair with their wives and families, to pass an hour or two in the society of women who are considered the most highly accomplished of their sex. Not only are they expert in music, singing, painting, dancing, and embroidery, but it is said that they are highly educated, and charm by reason of their conversational powers.

Although it is usual to visit such resorts "nayboen," it is considered no disgrace for the master of the house to be accompanied by the female members of his family. Nor is it any uncommon thing for a man of rank to choose his wife from an establishment of this description. That a woman should have been brought up in one of them operates in no way unfavourably against her in a social point of view; nor after her eyebrows are pulled out, and her teeth blackened,

is she less likely to make a good wife than any one else. It would indeed be somewhat unfair upon her if she suffered for this accident of her early life, for she is bought as a mere child by the degraded men who speculate in this trade, of indigent parents, who are unable to maintain a family of girls, and at the age of seven or eight enters the establishment. Her first years are spent in her education, and after she is grown up, her master is ready to part with her whenever he receives a fair offer.

As it was just at the gayest hour of the festive day that we rode through Sinagawa, every house contributed its swarms of gazers; on each side their faces, painted in pink and white, rose in tiers above each other. I could not judge of the numbers, but they were to be estimated by thousands rather than hundreds. The houses were handsomer than any I had seen in Yedo, except the residences of the princes. We could generally see through them into courtyards, where fountains played in cool gardens.

It would seem that the Government not only sanctions, by license, these establishments, but lends itself to the still further disgrace of deriving a direct revenue from this infamous source.

Mr Loch obtained upon good authority the following curious information upon the subject, with which he has kindly furnished me:—

"Prostitution is supported and protected by the Government, large districts being set apart for the residence of the females, who are kept under strict surveillance. Parents who are unable, or disinclined, to bring up their female children, can sell them to Government between the ages of six and ten. Until they are fourteen they remain as servants, and are educated in various domestic duties, such as cooking, housekeeping, &c. At that age they come on the regular establishment, are open to the public, and are obliged to serve in this capacity for ten years. Should any man, before that period elapses, wish to marry any one of them, he must pay the Government a sum of money for permission to do so; her name, however, being still retained

on the books. Should no such offer be made, at the expiry of the ten years she is returned to her parents or friends, with a small sum of money, and having been taught some employment. No disgrace attaches to women who have been brought up in this manner, and they generally make good marriages; but should she be guilty, after marriage, of any indiscretion, it is in her case (as in that of every Japanese wife) punishable by death."

THE END.

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